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Spanish protestants in the
sixteenth century

Spanish Protestants in the Sixteenth Century

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Compiled from the German of

C. A. Wilkens

Doctor of Theology and Philosophy

by Rachel Challice

With an Introduction by the late

Most Reverend Lord Plunket, D.D.

Archbishop of Dublin

And Preface by the

Rev. Canon Fleming, B.D.

Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the Queen



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COMPILER'S NOTE

A LEARNED and deeply-interesting work, entitled, *Die Geschichte des Spanischen Protestantismus im Sechszehnten Jahrhundert*, by C. A. Wilkens, Doctor of Theology and Philosophy at Kalksburg, near Vienna, was published at Gütersloh in 1888.

Seeing that the subject was little known in England, and the material was chiefly drawn from Spanish, Italian, and German writers, it seemed a pity that it should be a closed book to those interested in Protestantism, who are not conversant with the German language.

It was, therefore, with the author's kind permission that I entered on the two years' labour necessary for the translation of the work into English. Unfortunately, when completed, the book was considered too ponderous for general readers, so the original translation, although still intact, has never

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been published. The interest now awakened in the subject of Spanish Protestantism by the present Church Reform movement in the Peninsula made me feel that the valuable information contained in Dr. Wilkens's work was a light hidden under a bushel, so I have, with the author's consent, reduced the translation of the book to half its original size, and compiled it in a form more adapted to the general reader.

I can only trust that the fact of the work having had to go through the double process of translation and condensation will lead the public to view its shortcomings with leniency. I must not conclude without adding that I am deeply indebted to the late Lord Plunket for his revision of the manuscript, and I shall always feel grateful for his Grace's kind concession to add to this little book on the Spanish Protestantism of the sixteenth century some information as to the similar movement in the nineteenth century, which he so nobly supported.

RACHEL CHALLICE.

In Memoriam

The translator and compiler of this interesting work asked me, some little time ago, to write the Dedication of it to the late lamented Lord Plunket, Archbishop of Dublin. He had not only accepted her dedication of the work to him, but enhanced his kind consent by the Introduction he wrote for the book. His premature death has come just after he had finished his words; and it may be said that he had hardly laid down his pen when his summons came to lay down his life-work at his Master's feet: for he was under his last illness when he completed his chapter.

This sad event changes my words of Dedication into words “In Memoriam.”

In the famous record of Archbishops of Dublin, Lord Plunket takes his own place, the Peer Archbishop, in the storied line of Magee, Whately, and Trench. The Church in Ireland stands under the shadow of a great sorrow by his irreparable loss. It is not my province to attempt to delineate the high, noble, and Christian qualities of his character. Let this be done by those far better qualified for the task.

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He was an earnest, zealous, and laborious worker, and it was often a wonder to many how he was physically and mentally able to endure the strain and weight of labour which he marked out for himself, and so conscientiously strove to fulfil. While men who are examples of untiring activity are still with us, we admire them, but we frequently fail to measure the services they render till the moment they are gone. Then we begin to realise the loss we have sustained. He was a marvellous worker: his labour never flagged. The midnight oil was often burnt, and when weary toilers were at rest, night frequently found him laboriously at work. So great a strain must have had an injurious effect on the health of one never very strong; but he acted out the words of his Lord, "I must work while it is day: the night cometh, when no man can work." He was distinguished by great earnestness of character, genial kindness of heart, and strong tenacity of purpose, so that what he undertook to do, he never left half-done.

This was evinced in a remarkable degree in his Spanish work, which his dauntless and courageous heart carried on almost single-handed and alone, in the face of discouragement, difficulty, and opposition. It is too close to us yet to be judged by

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results. Contemporaries are not impartial judges. But though many eminent Churchmen differed as to the wisdom of the course he pursued in the case of the Spanish Episcopate, none differed as to his dauntless courage and imperturbable good temper at every point of the controversy. This was the natural result of the Archbishop's liberal spirit and large-hearted tolerance. He saw good in all schools of thought, and in all shades of Churchism. While he was unflinching in his principles, he recognised the difference between men's opinions and their principles. It would be a wretched world if we all had the same political and ecclesiastical opinions. It was because he recognised this that, while he was conscientious, firm, and brave, he was also gentle, considerate, and charitable.

The Most Reverend Primate of all Ireland, Dr. Alexander—one of the brightest ornaments of any Church—in his most eloquent words on the death of Lord Plunket, in St. Patrick's Cathedral, summed up the character of the late Archbishop in a *Trinity of wisdom*—

“What a man says—is something :
What a man does—is more :
What a man is—that is most.”

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I venture to say that no living divine but Dr. Alexander could utter such an aphorism as that—one which I predict will not die.

In writing these words, at the request of Miss Rachel Challice, I feel how feeble a tribute they are to departed worth, offered amid the activities of a busy ministry. I covet for them only that they may be a message of comfort to his sorrowing family, and a memory of LORD PLUNKET to his many friends.

JAMES FLEMING.

*Easter, 1897.
ST. MICHAEL'S VICARAGE,
S.W.*

INTRODUCTION

I HAVE been asked by Miss Challice to prefix a few words of introduction to this most interesting and instructive volume, and most gladly do I comply with her request.

I do so because, in the first place, it gives me an opportunity of expressing, on the part of myself and many others besides, the gratitude with which we hail the publication of this timely book. The noble deeds and cruel sufferings of Spanish Reformers during the sixteenth century have been hitherto only dimly recognised in English-speaking lands; and in presenting to her readers this page of history in a readable and accessible form, Miss Challice has supplied a real want. Her task has been one of no little difficulty. To translate a work such as that of Dr. Wilkens was in itself a formidable undertaking; but to condense that translation into a popular shape was more arduous still. In accomplishing

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this object, and in doing her work so well, she has entitled herself to a large meed of praise.

She has given to the world in a short compass much valuable information, which by a large circle of readers will, I venture to say, be prized as something altogether new. Many, it may be, will welcome that information simply as an attractive record of stirring events. But to some it will commend itself as a great deal more. To not a few it will, I trust, bring comfort and help as a fresh witness to the power of that Gospel which they themselves have found so precious to their souls. But it was not for the purpose of emphasising the merits of this work that I was asked by Miss Challice to take up my pen. Her desire was that I should supplement this record of the sixteenth-century Reformation by a short statement respecting a similar movement which has been manifesting itself in some parts of Spain and Portugal during the last forty or fifty years, and of which, in the providence of God, I have had some opportunities of becoming personally cognisant.

With such a request I feel it my duty

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to comply. But before supplementing the story of the sixteenth century by its counterpart in the present day, it may, I think, help to a clearer estimate of both these movements if I may briefly recall some facts respecting the history of religion in Spain during the centuries that went before.

It is well known that Spain was one of the first amongst the countries of Europe that was reached by the message of Gospel truth. It may have been that St. Paul fulfilled his intention of visiting that land ; but be that as it may, it is, I think, generally assumed that Christianity found its way to the Spanish Peninsula in apostolic times. It is also, of course, well known to all that for many subsequent centuries the ancient Church of Spain occupied a commanding position among the churches of Christendom. But it is not, I believe, so generally understood that, for some thousand years after the introduction of Christianity into Spain, the Spanish Church was in no sense under subjection to the papal yoke. It was an independent National Church, controlling its own organisation, electing its own bishops, and using, moreover, throughout its several congregations, a liturgy of its

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own—known to scholars as the “Mozarabic Rite.” The last Church in Christendom to surrender its independence to the Church of Rome was the Church of Ireland. The last but one was, I believe, the Church of Spain. It was not till the twelfth century that the former lost its freedom for the first time as a National Church. It was just a century before that the latter had succumbed to a similar fate. When, therefore, the Reformers of Spain, whether in the sixteenth or the nineteenth century, are reproached as deserters from the old faith, or as intruders within the confines of ancient ecclesiastical jurisdiction, it is well to bear in mind that the real intruder in Spain is the Church of Rome. It is Rome which has usurped the jurisdiction of the ancient Spanish Sees. It is Rome which has supplanted the ancient National Liturgy by the introduction of the Latin use. They, therefore, who have renounced allegiance to the innovations of this alien Church have not thereby forsaken the ancient faith, but have in very truth returned to the old paths wherein their fathers trod. But to return.

Well-nigh impenetrable were the mists of error and superstition that overshadowed

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the Church of Spain during the five centuries which followed her submission to the Church of Rome. We meet, indeed, with isolated examples of holiness and self-denial among the votaries of that Church which claim our admiration ; and from time to time is heard the voice of some Baptist-like Reformer—some *vox clamantis in deserto*—vainly protesting against the formalities and venalities of his age ; but as regards the Church at large, the darkness was gross indeed, and never more gross than just at the time when, at the close of these five hundred years, the movement described in the following pages began to make itself felt. Then indeed there burst forth from the rifted clouds a bright gleam of hope, radiant with the promise of coming dawn. Never was the Gospel more faithfully proclaimed than by the Spanish Reformers of the sixteenth century. Nowhere during those Reformation days did a nobler band of martyrs witness more bravely for the truth than those who perished at the stake in Seville or Valladolid. And for the strengthening of our own faith in these latter days, when in times of quietude and safety that faith is in danger

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of becoming flaccid and cold, it is well to be reminded, as we are in this volume, of the noble deeds done for Christ in days gone by. It was, as I have said, an interval of glorious promise, a dream of splendid possibilities, but it came apparently to naught. The remorseless clouds gathered in again, and darkness once more overspread the land.

It is a tale of infinite pathos. How are we to account for it? Considered apart from the over-ruling providence of God, what was there, humanly speaking, in the movement that prevented it from developing into success, as was the case with similar movements in our own and other lands? Partly, no doubt, because of the terrible foe with which, in the person of the Inquisition, it had to contend.

But not only so. It had this great weakness—it never seemed to reach down to the people of the land. Such, at least, is the explanation which I heard given by the late Archbishop Trench when presiding at a meeting on behalf of the Society whose object it is to aid that more recent work of Reform which has taken place during the present century, and to which I have already briefly referred. "This work," said the Archbishop,

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"suffers from an opposite weakness. It does not seem to have as yet enrolled in its ranks many of the noble or wealthy of the land, but it is, perhaps, better that it should thus begin with the people, for such a movement is more likely to spread upwards from below than to permeate downwards from above."

This leads me to speak of this latter movement, whose first beginnings may, I think, be dated from some forty or fifty years ago. The statistics of the progress made by this movement during that interval are in themselves sufficiently striking. They may be stated thus.

In the year 1868, scarcely thirty years ago, there was not, so far as I am aware, one Protestant native congregation throughout the whole of Spain and Portugal. There are now upwards of fifty, embracing amongst them considerably more than 10,000 souls; and of these about one-third (nearly 2500 in Spain, and 1000 in Portugal) are represented by two thoroughly organised churches, one of which (the Reformed Church in Spain) has a duly consecrated Bishop of its own.

But a question of still greater importance than any statistical results has still to be

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answered. To what was this movement due? The reply is a simple one. To the power of God's Holy Word!

I have spoken of the movement of the sixteenth century in Spain as an effort almost crushed out beneath the iron heel of the Inquisition. But it was only "almost." Some of those who were exiled during those days of terrible persecution employed their hours of banishment in compiling a Spanish version of the Bible. It is that translation which has been mainly effectual in bringing about and developing the present work of Reform in Spain. So true is it that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church!"

As regards that movement, it has certainly been my experience that we have only to trace up to its source any one of the tributaries that have helped to swell the tide of Reform in order to find the Bible at the fountain-head. From the shelf of some Spanish student's library, or through the agency of the Bible Society and its colporteurs, or as a gift from some chance traveller, or in some other way, a copy of Holy Scripture, or of a portion of Holy Scripture, has found its way

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into the hands of an anxious inquirer, and thence into the hands of his friends and neighbours, and thus a beginning has been made. Then has followed what may be termed a Bible-class or a Prayer-meeting, and then the gathering together of a congregation under the care of a minister—at first, it may be, of a lay evangelist, and ultimately of an ordained and duly-accredited Pastor. Such, roughly speaking, has been the history of almost every one of those congregations with which I have personally come in contact. The Word of God has in each case been the incorruptible seed from whence the harvest has sprung.

While so saying, I am bound to add that there has been a preparedness in the hearts of those by whom the Word has been received. Those who have been most active in their endeavours to further the work of Reform in Spain will be the first, I am sure, to confess that their function has been, not to create a need for reform in any heart, but to help in supplying a need already existing there. In other words, the results which we now witness are not due to the pressure of aggressive controversy from without, but to a craving on the part of these reformers

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themselves for something more satisfying in the way of spiritual food than the Church of Rome can provide, and to a profound conviction that in God's Holy Word they have found the means whereby to meet that need.

Such is the nature of this movement. It is a work of self-reform due to the action of God the Holy Ghost preparing the hearts of men to receive the seeds of truth ; and if anything be needed to make this clear, it may be found in the fact that these congregations to which I have referred have been formed without any preconcert or intercommunication amongst themselves. Separated by long distances the one from the other, few, if any, of them have had opportunities of knowing what was taking place elsewhere, and yet in each case, under widely-different circumstances, the same yearning has manifested itself, and the same consequences have ensued.

What shall we say to these things ? Simply this—that when contemplating this movement we stand face to face with the operations of that One and the self-same Spirit by whom the whole body of the Church is sanctified and governed, and that to Him and to the Word of God, which He wieldeth as a

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sword, these otherwise unaccountable results are wholly due!

But here I must pause, and somewhat abruptly bring this Introduction to a close. When I began to write, it was my intention to follow up the general remarks that I have just made with respect to the origin and character of this work of reform by some details respecting its progress and present extent. This, however, has been rendered unnecessary; for, as some of my readers may perhaps be aware, a little book entitled "Church Reform in Spain and Portugal," by the Rev. Dr. Noyes (British Chaplain at Paris), is just on the point of publication by Messrs. Cassell, London. This little volume, of which I have seen an advanced copy, will give all the information that it would have been in my power to supply, and will give it in more detail, and in a more graphic form than, in the space allotted to me, I could have hoped to reach.

All, therefore, that I can say to those who shall make themselves possessors of Miss Challice's translation, for which I am now writing this Introduction, is this: Do not be satisfied with having read the thrilling

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account which that translation gives of the work and sufferings of the Sixteenth-Century Reformers. Purchase also a copy of the volume in which Dr. Noyes tells of the work and the brave endurance of the Reformers of the Nineteenth Century. Read each book in the light of the other ; and as you thus read them, may God Himself accompany your study of them with abundant blessing to your own souls !

PLUNKET DUBLIN.

March 19, 1897.

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Spanish Protestants in the Sixteenth Century

CHAPTER I

DAWN OF SPANISH PROTESTANTISM

NEW WORLDS—XIMENES—LUTHER—
ERASMUS—ALFONSO VALDES

THAT the seed of Protestantism should have taken root and sprung up, even for a time, in Spain during the sixteenth century is a striking proof of the power of truth; for, although essentially a religious country, the Peninsula was in no way predisposed to accept new lines of doctrine. Like a child clinging to its mother, Spain clung to the Church of Rome; and as the new world of America was at first believed in only by such men as Vasco da Gama and Columbus, so the new world of religious thought was at first

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recognised in Spain only by such men as Constantino Ponce de Leon, Juan Diaz, Francisco de Enzinas, and the small number of advanced thinkers who shared their views.

But there was this difference. Although only Queen Isabella and a few others believed at first in the reports of the transatlantic voyagers, yet when the glitter of gold and the sight of home-brought treasures proved the fact that a new world had been found, public opinion soon followed in the wake. The king prostrated himself with thanksgiving before the Creator, in the presence of the discoverers, and the cathedral rang with the strains of the *Te Deum*!

On the other hand, as regards the new world of thought, the golden treasures of such a discovery not being patent to the physical eye, its pioneers and their followers received no immediate gratitude for bringing such a blessing within the reach of Spain.

The national characteristics of Spain in the sixteenth century were loyalty to the King, faith in the Church, love of Catholicism, and hatred of heretics. Crusades against the Moors and Jews were regarded

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as a religious duty, and beautiful cathedrals like those of Avila, Segovia, Burgos, Toledo, and Seville, glorious masterpieces of architecture, sculpture, and carving, testify to the power of the Roman Catholic Church in Spain during that age.

This religious spirit was not only evinced in crusades and cathedrals, but also in the missionary enthusiasm of such travellers as Alonzo de Ojeda, Las Casas, Juan de la Cruz, and Alonzo de Borja. The primitive Indian mind, however, is reported to have detected the false ring in the doctrine taught by these missionaries. A certain Bacalaureus Enciso, in imitation of Alonzo de Ojeda's abrupt mode of conversion, having read out to the inhabitants of some newly discovered spot in America a proclamation setting forth the claims of God, the Pope, and the King, one of his hearers remarked, "All that you have said of God, ruler of all things both in heaven and earth, sounds reasonable, but all that you tell us about the Pope, who seems to wish to be the Master in God's place, and to give away his land to the King of Castile, is senseless, for how could he give away what is not his to give? The

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king must be a fool to accept gifts that are the property of others ! ”¹

Simple in superstitious submission to the power of priestcraft, Spain, like other countries, had added novel dogmas to the primitive teaching of the Founder of the Faith, and the question, “What must I do to be saved ? ” was changed into “How can I make myself worthy to be saved ? ”

Ascetic Pharisaism had become confounded with noble self-sacrifice, veneration for the saints had degenerated into fantastic idolatry, and spiritual communion with God had given place to priest-imposed penances.

Cardinal Ximenes made a conscientious crusade against the corruption of the Catholic Church in Spain. Full of zeal in the cause, and wishing to be untrammelled in his course, he was not pleased at his appointment to the Archbishopric of Toledo ; and is reported to have cast the announcement upon the ground with the remark that such promotion was only fit for a woman.

Imbued with a hatred of all the enemies of his country and his faith, he was remorse-

¹ Irving, “The Voyages and Discoveries of the Companions of Columbus,” p. 681.

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less in his treatment of the Moors and Jews, procuring their banishment, and holding, meanwhile, his own followers fast in their belief with the iron hand of the Inquisition. Isabella, the large-hearted mother of her country, the friend of Ximenes the reformer, as she had been that of Columbus the discoverer, supported the cardinal in his crusades against the priestly sins of simony, licence, love of show, luxury, sloth, and ignorance. But as, in medicine, a specialist ignores the general condition of the patient, and only puts his finger on one spot of the ailing body, so this great priest, in his zeal for the restitution of ill-gotten gains, and his ardour for the re-establishment of order in the monasteries, was blind to the errors which had crept into the doctrine of the Church.¹

The results of Ximenes' efforts were very great. In speaking of the nineteen colleges, the eight and thirty churches in Spain, and the thousands of students in Alcala de Henares, Francis I. said, "A whole dynasty could not have accomplished in France what

¹ C. I. v. Hefele, *Der Cardinal Ximenes und die Kirchlichen Zustände Spaniens im XVI. Jahrhundert*, 1851.

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a single monk has done in Spain." The Spanish cardinal was also a powerful patron of literature, and he had the works of Thomas à Kempis, Catherine of Siena, &c., printed at his own expense. Whilst expunging, however, the outward corruption of the church, Ximenes wished to maintain a form of faith whereby the Pope should retain his apostolate, clerical councils their supremacy, traditions their influence, saints their patronage, relics their miracles, pictures their worship, purgatory its terror, and absolution its price.

The Franciscan strove by every agency of the holy office to withstand all advance of thought that seemed to throw doubt on the above questions.

It was whilst Ximenes was directing this great advance of ecclesiasticism in Spain, with a religious zeal elsewhere on the wane, that the light of Truth, which was afterwards to penetrate to the Peninsula, broke over Germany through the teaching of Luther. Whilst Ximenes was jealously guarding ecclesiastical pomps and ceremonies, Luther was simply maintaining the biblical doctrine, that salvation depends upon a God-given faith in

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the merit of the All-Sufficient Sacrifice, and that by the consequent surrender of the heart to the Saviour, reconciliation and sonship are assured.

From a fear lest such teaching might deal the deathblow to priestcraft in the Peninsula, it was stamped as "anathema" by the head of the Church, and hence ensued the struggle, short but severe, between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism in Spain.

Spanish pride clung to the efficacy of the crusades, the infallibility of the Pope, and the priestly power of absolution. The national antipathy of Spaniards to ecclesiastical innovations made them reject with horror anything that bore the mark of heresy. It was, therefore, very easy for the clergy to put Luther's opinion in a repellent form before the people. They only had to lay stress on the negative points, to misrepresent, or say nothing about the positive, and to attribute all the sins of false brethren to the great German, in order that the hate, once directed against Jews and Moors, should find a new object for its exercise.

In Catholic fervour Charles V. resembled his ideal, the Great Otto, and, like Ximenes,

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he maintained the necessity of curing the cankerous wound of Church corruption. Hence his patronage of Erasmus, who was, however, more versed in Attic learning than in ecclesiastical doctrine. Superficial, clever, puffed up with learning and worldly prosperity, he had never known what it was for body and soul to suffer in the struggle for faith or for participation in the holiness of Christ. The depths of spiritual life were unknown to him. In his power of cynicism he became the Lucian of the period. Quick to espy what was contrary to apostolic doctrine in the life, cult, and teaching of the Church, he brought the demoralised state of ecclesiastical life under the whip of his unsparing satirical wit. Without, like Luther, feeling any sorrow at these practices, the Dutch Hogarth sought to convert the cultivated by the wit and piquancy of writings that were full of diluted dogma and useful morality, but lacking in Christian principles. His wisdom was as different from revelation as Seneca from St. Paul.

At the same time, it cannot be denied that Erasmus proved a boon to the cultured by his translations of the New Testament, and

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of the works of Augustine and Jerome, into Latin; and the incense of flattery was fully given to the great scholar.¹

But a reaction from adulation set in when the eyes of the Spaniards were opened to the satire, veiled by classic culture, of the humanist king's own writings. The attack on "Spanish barbarism" was deeply resented. "What right," it was said, "had the panegyrist of Dutch cheese and butter to mock at them, because they had shed their blood for their faith instead of reading Lucian and Euripides?" The next important thing was to suppress the power of Erasmus at court, where his chief admirer was the secretary, Alfonso de Valdes.

For centuries the family of Valdes had commanded universal respect. Alfonso and Juan, the twin sons of the Regidor Fernando, were born at Cuenca, when that town was the centre of art, science, and industry. Distinguished by superior minds, intellectual gifts, amiability of character, and blameless lives, they passed their youth in their native town. Then through the influence of Gatti-

¹ M. Menandez Pelayo, *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, 1880.

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nara, the Lord High Chancellor, Alfonso held the post of Secretary of State from the time of the coronation of the Emperor at Aix until the peace of Nuremburg. It was in attendance on this monarch, whom he so strongly influenced, that he assisted at such events as the Diet of Worms, the battle of Pavia, the Peace of Cambray, the coronation at Bologna, and the Diet of Regensburg. Having translated the "Confession" into Italian, he, in his diplomatic capacity, treated with the author at Augsburg. He considered Luther's motive for reform to be spite against the Dominicans, his writings as poisonous, and his work inimical to Germany, and he regarded the policy of Frederick the Wise as the result of political and financial interests.

For a wise and benevolent man to be so mistaken as to the motives of the great German Reformer, he must certainly have seen through the spectacles of Erasmus, whose avarice he gratified with grants of money, enjoying and circulating such writings of the scholars as "The Praise of Folly," "The Handbook of the Italian Athlete," and other similar works.

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It was to Alfonso Valdes that Charles V. owed the clever casuistical “Apology for the Sacking of Rome.”¹ That work marked an epoch in the history of Europe, and in the evolution of religious opinions; for it was then seen that, apart from religious party feeling, Church corruption could not evade an expression of disapproval, even from those who were in the service of the State, an expression which came, as we see, from the pen of a Spaniard.

Clement VII., miserable in the entanglement of European affairs, wished to stem the tide of the Reformation, and to retain the power of the Medicis, the independence of the papacy, and the freedom of Italy intact from Charles V. and Francis I. Between these two disputants the course of the Pope was cunning, intriguing, and unprincipled. No Medici ever more thoroughly realised the truth of the old adage, “Honesty is the best policy.” He would assist the victor with one hand, whilst holding out the other to the vanquished. In fact, he acted according to the Jesuitical doctrine, that whatever

¹ *Dialogo en que particularmente se tratan las cosas acaecidas en Roma el año 1527.*

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favours the end is good, whatever hinders it is bad. The Pope, whilst pretending to be friends with Charles, was in treaty with Francis to deprive him of Naples. Then the Emperor's bloodthirsty, loot-loving soldiers devastated Italy like a lava stream, and, without leaders, pay, or discipline, and fearing neither God nor man, they precipitated themselves upon poor, weak, defenceless Rome, laden with the sins of a corrupt Church. Murder ran riot, churches, convents, and palaces were sacked and pillaged, and the poor Pope fled for safety to the Castle of St. Angelo, whence he gazed with dismay on the burning houses, the corpse-covered streets, and the groaning masses of his people. The event struck every heart with horror in Spain. From the prelate to the peasant there was pity for the Pope, whom the Emperor had sought to subdue by the conquest of the Holy City.

It was to change the current of public opinion that the secretary Valdes published his celebrated "Apology for the Sacking of Rome." It was written in the form of a dialogue, supposed to have taken place in Valladolid, between the knight Lactantio

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and the archdeacon, disguised as a soldier. To the priest's complaint of the rapacity, ambition, and cruelty of the Emperor, Lactantio replies by drawing a picture of the corruption of the city, and the deflection of the Pope from his sacred duties. It is interesting to see that a Spaniard of the court of Charles V. puts in the mouth of his imaginary knight the following words :—

“Rome is supposed to be the city of every virtue; but it has proved to be the resort of crime, roguery, and swindling. The shameless sale of offices, indulgences, bulls, and dispensations, is a disgrace to the Italian faith. Erasmus had eloquently, carefully, and discreetly laid bare these wrongs; but dead to the sting of satire, the Church required the power of physical force to awaken her from her torpor.”

It would take too much space to give the dialogue in full, but among other condemnatory remarks, the knight says :—

“The day of reckoning has come for the traffic in such relics as the three heads of St. Anna, the four and twenty heads of the Apostles, the cartloads of portions of the cross, the hose of St. Joseph, the shoes

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of St. Christopher, &c. Is this the right road to salvation? If one asked the way to the Church of Nuestra Senora in the El Prado, would you not consider it cruel to be directed to pass through the river with danger of drowning, instead of being shown the safe way of the bridge? Christ is the safe way, and He is the bridge, all other ways are through the water of danger."

Valdes certainly pointed to a close connection between the weal of the Church and the conquest of Charles, and he opened a vast perspective for the prosperity of this new Constantine, who solemnly congratulated the Pope on his liberation from the Castle of St. Angelo, and hoped he would continue his reign over the bishops in the city of the Cæsars.

Baldassare Castiglione, the great Italian statesman and writer, was filled with rage at the secretary's want of sorrow at the great disaster, and his lack of pity for the Pope's trials.

"The Inquisition," he said, "ought to take in hand this new Lycurgus, this reformer of holy orders and religion. This censor of manners and men, this corrector

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of councils, should be decked in a san-benito¹ for telling the Emperor that he is reforming the Church by taking the Pope and his cardinals prisoners, as if iconoclasm and incendiarism could be justified by the reported corruption of the priesthood.²

Having just managed to steer the half-sinking craft of the Holy See into port, through the nearly engulfing waves of trouble and losses, the Pope in this time of need had to yield to pressure, and—although the heretical paradoxes, and attacks against the Church of Rome, had been hitherto ignored, so as not to drive the head of the humanists into the arms of the Lutherans—professors, abbots, and canons had now to appear before the Inquisition, and either forswear their Erasmian opinions or suffer imprisonment. The court preacher Vernes had no peace for four years from the fire of controversial inquiry, until Paul III., pursuant to the Emperor's wish, pronounced him innocent. The Inquisition prohibited all Spanish translations

¹ A yellow mantle, covered with flames and devils, imposed by the Inquisition as a penance.

² *Reformistas antigos Espanoles*, xv. p. 59–71. Stern, *Alfonso et Juan de Valdes*, p. 32, &c.

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of Erasmian writings, and the Latin originals were revised so as to separate the tares from the wheat.

But these injunctions could not bridge over the gulf that separated the former blind acceptance of priest-imposed opinions, from the greater freedom of biblical doctrine. True to his own ideas, Charles V. declared at Worms that Luther would never make a heretic of him. In fact for a considerable period, seeing that the German Reformer laid no claim to those miracles which are of such weight in the Roman Catholic Church, the Emperor did not think he could turn any one to heresy—a crime which was attributed to everybody who brought his own opinions to bear upon the faith of the Church. He did not understand that the power of Luther was due to his assurance of salvation through Christ, by whose righteousness he had become a just man instead of a sinner, a saver of souls instead of a lost man, and a steadfast soldier of Christ, instead of a down-trodden servant of man.

But when iconoclasm, desecration of churches, peasant wars, and radicalism were reported as originating from Luther, Charles

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V. became vehement in his opposition to the Reformer, and declared that he would not take France and Italy as a price for the toleration of heresy in such a shape.

After the publication of the "Confession of Augsburg," Charles made a declaration of war against Protestantism in a proclamation to the following effect : " You all know that I owe my descent to the German nation, to the Catholic kings of Spain, to the Austrian archdukes, and Burgundian dukes who were all loyal till death, as sons of the Catholic Church, to the honour of God, to the increase of the faith, and to the salvation of souls ; and so, pursuant to their example, I till now have, by God's help, lived as it beseemeth a good emperor so to do. But since it has now become patent to all that a monk has been so deceived by his own opinions as to put himself in opposition to the whole of Christendom, and to maintain that those who lived a thousand years ago, as well as those of the present day, have been in error, we have decided to spare neither kingdoms, lands, peace, body, blood, life, nor spirit, in getting this matter set to rest." ¹

¹ Baumgarten, *Geschichte Karls V.*, i. p. 456 &c.

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Without being aware of the fact, the Emperor, as champion of the infallibility of the Church with all its errors, withstood the champion of God who held aloft the true light of biblical truth.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST SPANISH PROTESTANT MARTYR

OF all the kingdoms of the mighty Imperial empire, Spain appeared the most secure from the invasion of Lutheran thought. The history of the country, the character of the people, the influence of the priests, the clerical power of the Crown, and the vigilance of the Inquisition, all seemed impregnable bulwarks of Catholicism.

But already in 1521, the Regent of Castile had been warned by the Pope against any influx of Lutheran literature, and Charles V. made Alonso Manrique the Grand Inquisitor, because he knew he would most effectually take steps for the arresting of Protestantism. This opinion proved correct, for Manrique gave orders to have every book-store searched, and every work of an heretical tendency destroyed. Two great

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casks of Lutheran literature, bound for Valencia in a Flemish vessel, were discovered and publicly burnt in the market-place of San Sebastian, to the delight of the Roman Catholics. But what was forbidden to Spaniards at home could not be kept from those who resorted to the Universities of France and Germany.¹

After leaving Cuenca, where he was born, Juan Diaz spent thirteen years in Paris in the study of the theology of Luther, Melancthon, and their fellow-Reformers.¹ Thence he went to Geneva, where he stayed with his friends, two of the Senarcleus family, at their residence on the Lake, and the enjoyment of this period of his life was heightened by the congenial companionship of, and communion with Calvin, to whom, no doubt, was mainly due the revolt of the Spaniard against the mere ceremonial worship of his country—a land where the beauteous combinations of Moorish and Gothic architecture in the cathedrals could not satisfy the minds of those who craved to “worship God in spirit and in truth.”

¹ Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, 3 Ausg. iv. 1852, p. 302 &c.; Boehmer, “Spanish Reformers,” i. p. 187.

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On subsequently visiting Strasburg, Diaz attended divine service at a Protestant church. Before taking the Holy Sacrament it was then the custom for each believer to make a confession of faith separately, instead of saying it together with the whole congregation, as in the present day. When the Spaniard stood up in conformity with the rule, he caught sight of a fellow-countryman who had been driven from Paris by the plague, and had entered the edifice out of curiosity. Impelled by the presence of his old acquaintance to give additional emphasis to his statement of opinion, Diaz added these words : "Every church is heretical that withholds from the people the sacraments in both kinds, keeps back the pure Word of God, and does not find its centre in Christ as its only Saviour, Sacrificer, and Justifier." By this act Juan Diaz finally abjured the Roman Catholic faith and joined the Protestant Church.

When alone with his fellow-countryman after the service, Juan maintained that Providence had led his friend's footsteps hither, so that he might hear his testimony to the truth, and be led to follow his example.

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"When you return to Spain," he said, "and talk of your foreign travels, you can say that you came across a Spaniard who is a decided Lutheran, and that you heard him make a confession of the Lutheran, or, rather, the Christian, faith."

With Butzer, Diaz attended the Diet of Ratisbon, there to speak on behalf of the reformed religion; and Pedro Malvenda, the great Catholic orator, afterwards declared that he had found those six days spent in Protestant territory longer than six years would have been elsewhere. Juan visited his fellow-countryman and oratorial opponent, and he was told by him that the Protestants were prouder of having won him over to their side than of gaining any number of proselytes from Germany or other countries. Malvenda then spared no entreaties, promises, or threats to try and turn Diaz from his course, and to persuade him to cast himself in penitence at the feet of his father confessor before the arrival of the Emperor. But Diaz turned a deaf ear to all Malvenda's exhortations; and when faced with the argument of the infallibility of the Pope, the Spanish Protestant declared that

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he would find it difficult to believe in the infallibility of a criminal such as Paul III.

The case of the defection of Diaz from the Church of Rome was communicated in due time to Domingo de Soto, the Confessor of Charles V. This powerful priest had once been nothing but a gardener's boy, then he rose to be a sacristan, and finally became, according to Covarrabia, a pillar of science and theology.

The news was also soon brought by a bearer of Spanish despatches to the brother of Diaz, Alfonso, a cleric, and an official of the Rota,¹ and the priest was beside himself with rage, horror, and resentment when he learnt what he considered a disgrace to his family and to his country. He determined either to stamp out the so-called crime or to avenge it, and with this purpose he proceeded at once to Ratisbon, accompanied by an executioner as a servant ; but he found that Juan had left the town at the conclusion of the Diet, and had betaken himself to Neuburg, on the Danube, where he was

¹ *Rota Romana*, or *sacra Rota*, the Supreme Papal tribunal at Rome instituted by Pope John XXII., A.D. 1326, and improved by Sixtus IV. and Benedict XIV.

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busy revising Butzer's treatise on the Lord's Supper, and arranging his own *Christianæ religionis Summa*.

Malvenda saw Alfonso, and confirmed the intelligence about his brother; and Senarcleus, deceived by the assertion that Alfonso wished to see Juan on some State business, gave him his address; but hardly had he done so than the Protestants began to distrust the inquiring stranger who so carefully preserved his incognito, and they wrote letters of warning, which they bade the driver of the coach to put into Juan's own hands. Alfonso, however, managed to get possession of the missives, and, after reading them with Malvenda, he promptly destroyed them.

Arrived at last in the presence of his brother, who was staying with one of the Senarcleus family in his Protestant parsonage, Alfonso handed him a letter from Malvenda, promising to use his influence with Soto on his behalf if he would renounce Protestantism, and to this Alfonso added his own entreaties, threats, and upbraiding to change the convert's mind. But all was of no avail, and then the priest, finding his

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errand of persuasion fruitless, determined to resort to the alternative of murder under the cloak of dissimulation.

With such a view, suddenly, to Juan's delight, Alfonso changed his tactics : he congratulated his brother on having followed the dictates of conscience, and, saying that such a convert was worthy of a larger circle of influence, he counselled him to go forth to Italy, which, he said, required men of character like him, whereas Germany was rich in preachers.

Pleased at the seeming sympathy of his brother, Juan prepared for his journey over the Alps ; but the plan was not pursued, as the Protestants of Ratisbon did not receive it favourably.

Then the treacherous priest bade farewell to Juan, and even counselled his continuance in the path of the Reformed religion. In order, moreover, to complete his brother's deception, he presented him with a sum of money, and then pretended to start for Augsburg. But instead of proceeding to the town, the cleric and his companion stopped at the village of Potmes, between Neuburg and Augsburg, there dined at a priest's,

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bought a knife at a butcher's, and then spent the night in the village of Feldkirchen.

In the early morning of March 27, 1546, they reappeared at the gates of Neuburg, leaving the horses and groom a little way off to wait for them. Juan had passed the night in prayer and meditation, and when he was told that a messenger had come with a letter from his brother, he cast a cloak about him, and went into the neighbouring room, where the servant was quenching his thirst with a glass of water. Diaz took Alfonso's letter, and, going to the window, he read, "You are not safe in Neuburg, a plot is formed against you, you ought to repair at once to Augsburg in the greatest secrecy."

Whilst standing and reading these lines, the young man did not notice that the servant in the room crept cautiously and furtively behind him, and before Juan had time to turn round the knife was plunged in his back, and he sank silently to the ground.

The deed done, the assassin fled downstairs, rejoined Alfonso, and, hastening to the spot where the horses were waiting with the groom, escaped swiftly away. When Senarcleus entered the room which the mur-

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derer had left, he found his friend lying with the knife in his back.

So died the first Spanish Protestant martyr, assassinated at the instigation of his own brother.¹

The Church and State, however, did not view the deed with the horror it deserved, for they deemed it had saved a soul from damnation, and had spared the family the disgrace of a trial.

This opinion was probably strengthened by Malvenda and Soto, especially as Malvenda had participated in the crime, in so far as he had assisted at the destruction of the letters warning Diaz of the danger awaiting him.

The criminals were, however, pursued by Protestant indignation, and were overtaken and captured at Innsbruck, and brought to trial.

Alfonso, as a priest, demanded the protection of the cardinals of Augsburg and Trent, and Charles V.—turning a deaf ear to the entreaty of the Protestants from Augs-

¹ *Historia vera de morte sancti viri Joannis Diazii Hispani*, per Claudium Senarclaeum, 1546; Crocius, *Grosses Martyrbach*, 1606.

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burg asking him to act as the head and defender of justice, and visit the inhuman crime with the punishment it deserved—passed the matter on to his brother Ferdinand.

The Pope also put his powerful word into the scale of mercy, and his influence, combined with the will of the Emperor and the drift of public opinion, led to the exculpation of the criminals.

This conduct on the part of the Emperor, cardinals, bishops, and theologians naturally tempted the Protestants to think that the crime had been aided and abetted by the Church.

However, no protection could save the fratricide from the pangs of his own remorse, and it was not long before he hanged himself at Trent.

The pious Protestant martyr, though silenced by death, still spoke eloquently to his brethren in the faith by his example of earnestness and fidelity.

CHAPTER III

THE FIRST SPANISH TRANSLATION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

AFTER reading the story of the first Spanish Protestant martyr, who suffered death for devotion to biblical truth, it is interesting to hear of the man who consecrated his time and talents to the work of translating the New Testament into Spanish. I speak of Francisco de Enzinas, born in 1520, at Burgos, of wealthy and illustrious parents. At the age of nineteen he was sent to some of his connections in the Netherlands, to pursue his studies at the University of Louvain.

Influenced by some of the professors, and the arguments of his brother James, who was already a convert, Francisco adopted the Reformed religion. After having been summoned to Paris to the deathbed of his uncle, Pedro de Lema, who had been exiled

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from Spain because of his Protestant opinions, the young Spaniard went to Wittenberg, and whilst staying with Melancthon devoted himself to translating the New Testament into his mother tongue. This work was completed coincidentally with the renewal of the baneful edicts of 1529 and 1531, which prohibited the printing, sale, donation, or possession of heretical writings.¹ Whosoever remained in error was thereby doomed to be burnt; and yet, it was whilst the Inquisition fires were blazing at Louvain, that this brave Protestant boldly entered the town, and laid his Spanish translation of the New Testament before the University professors. They regarded it with suspicion. They said that Ferdinand and Isabella had certainly allowed the translation of the Old Testament, but when it was found that the Jews used it for the propagation of their doctrine, it had been prohibited, with the exception of copies for the colleges, monasteries, and distinguished people of unexceptionable faith. Therefore the censors came to the conclusion that their ignorance of the

¹ J. L. Motley, "The Rise of the Dutch Republic," 1858, vol. i. p. 233.

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Spanish language made them incompetent to give a final opinion on a work not under Imperial patronage.

So Francisco proceeded to have this first New Testament in Castilian printed at his own expense by Mierdman at Antwerp, with a dedication to the Emperor Charles V., in which he set forth that it was God's command that His words should be placed in the hands of kings; that Spain with the finest European language was the only European country deprived of the New Testament in the vernacular; and that no power could prevent the propagation of the truth.¹

Without, however, reading the introduction, the Emperor commanded the President of the Secret Council at Brabant to forbid the further printing and sale of the work. Then the Margrave of Antwerp had the book revised by Franciscan monks, who declared that it was Erasmian in its style, and not free from Gallicisms, but that it

¹ *El nuevo testamento de nuestro redentor y salvador Jesu Christo, traducido de Griego in lengua castellana por Franzisco de Enzinas, dedicado a la Cesarea Magestad, 1543.*

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was characterised by a strict rendering of the original, and was careful to preserve traditional sacred expressions, save where the very rare interpolation of a word or two was necessary to make the meaning clear. In fact, apart from some unimportant glossary words, they considered the translation quite unexceptionable.

Francisco was unaware of this Cabinet correspondence concerning his Castilian Testament, and finding himself in Brussels at the same time as the Emperor, he prayed Mendoza, the Bishop of Jaena, to procure him an audience. This request was granted by the priest, who was a learned and exemplary man; and on November 23, 1543, the brave Protestant presented himself at the palace with the sacred Book under his arm. It was on a Sunday, after high mass, and Charles with his imposing retinue of princes and grandees entered the banqueting hall. Francisco could not take his eyes from the Emperor as, served by his court retainers, he dined alone, so impressed was he by the grandeur and majesty of his bearing and features. Trembling at the thought of his speech, Francisco mustered up his courage

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by recollecting the justice and solemnity of his cause. What if all the princes of the world were there, would they not be made to subserve, as instruments for his mission, the Divine Word which he had to propagate? The table was at last withdrawn with great ceremony, and the audience having begun, Charles rose, and leaning on a cane, took up a military report. Then the bishop, leading Francisco forward by the hand, said, "May it please your Majesty to accept the dedication of this excellent book of my young friend?"

"What book do you wish to dedicate to me?" asked the Emperor of the author.

"Sire," was the reply, "it is a portion of the Holy Scriptures which we call the New Testament. I have faithfully translated it into Spanish. It consists chiefly of the four gospels and the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles. I humbly beg your Majesty, as protector of religion and of the true faith, to be a gracious judge and censor of the work, so that your Majesty's approval may commend it to the Christian people under your Imperial sway."

"Are you the author of the book?"

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"The Holy Spirit, Sire, is the author," returned Francisco. "Men of God have handed down to all humanity these divine oracles in the Greek language, and I have translated the book into Spanish."

"Into Castilian?" demanded the Emperor.

"Yes, Sire, into Castilian, and I crave you in your goodness to give the work your patronage and protection."

"Your request is granted, on condition that the work contains nothing questionable."

"Nothing, Sire, unless there is anything questionable in the account of the salvation of the world by the only-begotten Son of the Eternal Father."

"Your wish is then granted, if the book be really such as it is described by you and the bishop."

Charles then took the proffered copy, and retired to his private apartments.

The following day the bishop had orders to submit it to Soto, and Mendoza informed the translator at Antwerp that the Censor seemed satisfied, although he had not finished the perusal of the volume, and that he would be glad to have a personal interview on the subject. So Francisco went to Brussels, and

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was received early in the morning like an old friend by Soto, who had just returned from a visit to Granvella, and who, being interested by the report of his learning and court favour, appointed four o'clock for the conference.

The translator kept his appointment punctually, but he had to attend a long lecture in bad Spanish on the Acts of the Apostles, and then wait in the cloisters till six o'clock. At last he entered the cell of the Dominican, adorned with many pictures, and Soto, after opening Alfonso de Castro's work at the page where their Catholic Majesties are commended for forbidding under heavy penalties the publication and possession of Spanish Bibles, withdrew and left Francisco to peruse it alone. After some time the Censor returned. The father of theology at Trent, the restorer of Catholicism under Mary, was, of course, of De Castro's opinion. In the course of conversation he remarked that Francisco had visited Melancthon, that he himself admired him personally, but that he had recently edited an heretical book, which, being contrary to the laws of the king, had contaminated religion and patriotism in the neighbourhood of Burgos, where there had

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never been hitherto a sign of heresy. "It would have been better for you," said Soto, "never to have studied than to have used your talent for the defence of heresy and for the opposition of truth." Soto also expressed astonishment that any one so young as Francisco, on the very threshold of wisdom, should be so depraved. Such a plant would bear evil fruit for the Church and religion if it were not cut down. Francisco observed that the printing of Bibles had not been forbidden by the Emperor, and that this was the only book he had published. There was no edict forbidding his speaking to Luther and Melancthon. The Emperor had never issued such an edict, nor could any human law prevent the circulation of the New Testament, for was it not a duty to forward it? But all arguments were vain, and as Francisco was leaving the cell, he was seized by soldiers, and carried off to the prison of Urunta, ironically called in Spanish *el amigo*.

The Reformer was somewhat sustained in his captivity by Gil Tielman,¹ his prison companion, and when summoned before the Secret Council to answer the accusation

¹ Crocius, *Grosses Martyrbuch*, p. 253.

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lodged by Soto against him, he comported himself bravely, maintaining his high opinion of Melancthon, and affirming his statement "that a man could be saved by faith without works," contained in the introduction to his Spanish New Testament.

His friends appealed in vain on his behalf to the Bishop of Jaena, Soto, and Granvella. The utmost that could be done was that the matter should be determined in Belgium, and so escape the jurisdiction of the Spanish Inquisition. At last his accusation was formulated, to the effect that he had consorted with heretics, that he was strongly suspected of Lutheranism, that he had published the New Testament in Spanish, that he had eulogised Melancthon and his doctrine, that he had written a pernicious book on Free Will, and that he was in possession of heretical books. These last facts the Spaniard denied, so the sentence was delayed.

On 1st February 1545, the young man escaped from the prison, finding that his cell door had been left unlocked, and that other things favoured his flight.

Leaving Louvain, he went to Mechlin, and afterwards spent some time in Antwerp.

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Pursuant to the advice of Melancthon, to whom he went as soon as possible, he then wrote his "Reminiscences," which still have an important place in Spanish literature.

When the Emperor commanded his return to Brussels, on penalty of loss of life and property, and when Soto declared him unfit for the inheritance of his paternal fortune, he went to Italy—a living letter from Melancthon. He there learnt that his brother James had suffered a martyr's death for maintaining the criminality of taking from, or adding to, the Word of God. He subsequently went to England, where he was the guest of Cranmer, who gave him the Greek professorship at Cambridge, and who would gladly have seen him tutor to the Duke of Suffolk.

The printing of his translations of Livy, Florus, Plutarch, and Lucian having taken him to Basle and Strasburg, he died at the latter place from the plague on December 30, 1552. He devoted fifteen years to Biblical work; but he never saw the fruit of his labours, and it remained for posterity to benefit by his sacrifices in the cause of Protestantism.

CHAPTER IV

A LAY PROTESTANT SPANISH PREACHER

FRANCISCO DE ENZINAS numbered Francisco de San Roman, of Burgos, among his chief friends.¹ He had been a well-to-do merchant in Antwerp; but going to Bremen on business, he heard a sermon preached in the Church of the Holy Virgin, by a pastor named Jacob Probst, who was a follower and admirer of Luther.

The Spaniard, who had merely entered the church from curiosity, was so much struck with what he heard, that he paid Probst a visit, and had the noteworthy phrases repeated to him, until he knew them by heart.

Then despising the world, life, and everything for Christ's sake, Francisco de San Roman devoted his time to spreading the truth. Strong in his sense of right, he wrote to

¹ Crocius, *Grosses Martyrbuch*.

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the Emperor, warning him of damnation for his repudiation of the Gospel. Wishing to testify to the truth of Protestantism, he set out for Spain, but was arrested on the road to his native country. Forbidden property was found in his luggage, in the form of certain writings of Luther, Melancthon, and Oekolampad, with caricatures of the Pope as a child of the devil, and as a ravening wolf. The books and papers were burnt, and their owner was taken to Louvain, and there suffered imprisonment for some time.

But on his release, the missionary spirit of the Spaniard was shown by his preaching in the streets, and propagating the Reformed religion through every means in his power.

In Ratisbon the enthusiast made the Emperor a long speech. He exhorted him to turn Lutheran, to bring in the true religion, and to leave Protestants in peace.

When the Spaniard at a fourth audience repeated his advice, he was taken prisoner. The guard who took him, threatened to throw him into the Danube, and the Emperor, in accordance with the law of his dominions, gave orders for his trial.

In the meanwhile the Reformer, in bonds,

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had to accompany Charles V. on his journey to Italy and Africa, but his untrammelled spirit was joyous and free. On his return to Spain, the Inquisition found him immovable as a rock in his opinions, and he was burnt in Valladolid by the orders of the Holy Office. It is stated that the English ambassador of the time tried to gain some accurate information about this Spanish martyr.

CHAPTER V

THE ABDICATION OF CHARLES V.

CHARLES V. seemed to try and realise the ideal of his favourite poet Acuna, who described a period when the world should be subject to one sovereign and one sword. But in the execution of this gigantic undertaking, with all its accompanying wars, danger, and overwhelming burden of business, the conqueror in Europe, Africa, and America, found at nearly every step the trace of Luther and Protestantism confronting him as an adder in his path; and although he finally stood at the German Reformer's tomb, he could never regain the hopes in regard to religion by which he was once animated. Ecclesiastical diplomacy, theological congresses, and wars, all failed to win back or annihilate those who had deserted from the faith, and at last the mighty ruler had to concede to Germany

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that liberty of religion which he himself hated. This concession, combined with increasing ill-health, made this exhausted player of political chess exclaim, “*Ne plus ultra!*” for he felt he could no longer rule on the lines which he had considered to be just and godly, and conducive to the good of the Church. The broken-down king then began to take a dislike to business, and would not, in fact, hear it mentioned. Finally, he determined to give up the crown, which to him had lost its value.

This decision took shape in the public abdication by him of the Imperial sceptre—a ceremony solemn in its illustration of the fleeting nature of all earthly grandeur.

On the 25th October 1555, Charles, after mass, entered the richly-carpeted hall of his magnificent palace in Brussels, and took for the last time his seat on the throne under the canopy adorned with the arms of Burgundy.

Near to him sat his son Philip, Queen Maria of Hungary, and Queen Eleanor of France. Around him, the knights of the Golden Fleece, the officers of the court and house, and the deputies from the provinces

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made an imposing array in their picturesque Burgundian and Spanish dresses. In the centre of all this magnificence, the old man, prematurely bent, and grey from work, anxiety, and illness, supported himself on a stick with one hand crooked with gout, whilst the other hand rested on William of Orange. His morning dress of black velvet was only relieved by the jewels of the Order of the Golden Fleece. Charles spoke of the burdens which so many crowns had laid upon his youth. He had conscientiously tried to do his duty to the best of his ability. The interests of his beloved fatherland, and, above all, those of Christianity, had lain nearest to his heart. His chief object had been to protect the Church from apostasy. The jealousy of neighbouring Powers and the factions of heretical German princes had stood in his way.

He had given no thought to his own convenience. He had taken forty journeys to England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Flanders. Four times he had crossed the Spanish Main, eight times the Mediterranean.

He begged his faithful subjects to main-

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tain the purity of the Faith. "If any one in these unbridled times," he said, "has allowed doubts to enter his mind, he should tear them out by the roots."

He then implored forgiveness for any errors that he might have unwittingly committed. But this humble request for pardon did not in any wise include his treatment of those Christians whom he had persecuted, beheaded, tortured, burnt, and buried alive, merely because they claimed for themselves the blessing of a confident faith in the blood and merit of Christ.

He considered he had only acted in accordance with the following injunction given him by the archbishop at Aix as to wielding the sword of Charlemagne:—

"Take this sword, by which right must be maintained, wrong defeated, the Church supported, and heretics withheld."

In conversation with Contarini, the Venetian ambassador, the Emperor once said, "I am by nature obstinate in my opinions."

"Sire," was the reply, "to hold fast to good opinions is not obstinacy, but firmness."

"But I sometimes hold fast to bad ones," was the reply; and certainly no opinion

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could have been more unfortunate than that which prompted him to accept Leo X.'s bull of excommunication against the Lutherans as the final, infallible, irreparable sentence of the Church.

The abdication of the Netherlands in favour of his son Philip was succeeded by the resignation of Spain in favour of Ferdinand in the following year, and a few months later the surrender of the Imperial dignity itself.

But it was still in his capacity of Emperor that on the 3rd of February 1557 Charles was conducted to the monastery of San Yuste, near the village of Quacos, in the beautiful province of Estremadura, a spot watered by the rivers Tietor and Tagus, and rich in oak, chestnut, and mulberry plantations. *Te Deums*, processions, and addresses celebrated the Emperor's reception at the altar, ablaze with lights and decorations. Thus, at last removed from the restless sea of care and business, Charles strove to atone for any past neglect of pious exercises. In consideration, however, of his health, he still pursued a few harmless occupations. He had daily read aloud to him portions of

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St. Augustine, of St. Jerome, and of that part of the Bible which was allowed by the Inquisition. The beautiful Flemish Bible, brought by the doctor from the Netherlands, was burnt in the presence of his father confessor.

He was fond of choral singing and organ playing, and his time was much given to church festivals and masses. He liked also to work in the workshop of his watchmaker, Giovanni Torriano, he grafted trees, tended his flowers, shot wild does, walked in the alleys, or meditated under the shade of an old walnut-tree.

He still conferred by letter with the crowned heads of France, Portugal, and Navarre, and with Philip and Joanna on matters of policy. His attention, meanwhile, was especially directed to the increasing power of Lutheranism. Charles maintained that he had allowed Luther full course, so as to escape the censure of Emperor Sigismund. But in so doing he maintained that he had not done his duty, inasmuch as he ought rather to have considered his allegiance to the Divine Master, God Himself, as compelling him to vindicate every-

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thing that was harmful to His cause. If Luther had only offended against him, the Emperor, it would have been all very well to be lenient to him; but that was another matter. By leaving him at liberty, the evil which might have been exterminated by his death had grown more and more formidable.

CHAPTER VI

FRANCISCO DE BORJA

VELASQUEZ painted a picture of Francisco de Borja, Duke of Gandia, dismounting from his horse at the gate of the Jesuit College, accompanied by two young men. He is depicted in a gorgeous court-attire, bowing low before Loyola, whose fanatical, bold, designing Roman Catholic spirit wrought such incalculable harm to the good which Luther had accomplished. This picture is like a biography. Borja had the same brilliant success in several capacities, which were as varied as his talents, for we see him shining as a cavalier, soldier, diplomatist, mathematician, student, composer, author, and regent.

When viceroy in Catalonia he showed his powers of administration, and in Africa and Italy his deeds testified to his military genius. The same hand which could wield a sword

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or curb a horse, could write masses which were long used in the churches, as well as other works in Latin and Spanish. But all these things brought no satisfaction to a soul which was full of thoughts on sin and judgment. Meditation and discipline coloured his life. Even when pursuing his favourite pastime of hawking, he would exercise the self-denial of closing his eyes, and so miss the full pleasure of the sport.

It was the same spirit of self-mortification that caused him to look upon the features of Queen Isabella, when her body had been in the coffin six days. Horror-struck, the duke gazed long at the fearful sight of the decay of the human frame, and determining never again to serve a mortal master, he took for his motto these words: "I came from nothing, I shall become nothing; what I am I know not; if I am anything, I am quite sure that hell is my home." He was then only five-and-twenty years of age.

Not that he cast himself upon the Lord in despair of his own power, for he thought to do penance sufficient to become worthy of Christ by his own exertions. He scourged himself three times a day, and lived a more ascetic

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life than many monks, long before he became one of them. All other orders but that of the Jesuits dissatisfied him, and it was he who built the first college of the order in Gandia. As he could by rights do nothing as a Jesuit, he was granted the privilege of managing his dukedom until the majority of his children was attained. He slept on a plank of wood in his clothes, and prayed all night long. When he was released from the responsibilities of office, he embarked on board a ship for Rome, and chanted the psalm which the Israelites sang when they left Egypt, rejoicing that their bonds were broken, and that they were free in the name of the Lord.

Five times he refused the purple. Unmindful of the burning sun, he travelled through Spain as "*Francisco el pecador*" ("Francis the sinner") preaching to the poor and winning converts to the order. He frequented the court in his new capacity, and afforded comfort to the Queen Joanna when she lay dying, after the long period of her madness.

Charles V. was attracted by Borja's disregard of the world. In San Yuste, he said

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to the Jesuit that God had so taken possession of his heart, that no living creature had power to unsettle or worry him. The earthly affairs of his relations were nothing to him ; he only prayed for their salvation. He even had the Imperial arms taken from his rooms, and ordered a new seal to be made without a crown, eagle, or fleece, saying, "The name is sufficient now, I own nothing more."

The Emperor let the Jesuit have an insight into his innermost heart, and availed himself of his ministerial office. They both supported each other in their hope that Spain was still a stainless daughter of the Church, as the Jesuit declared it remained comparatively free from heresy. When Francisco was appointed general of the order, he said : "I have always wished for the death of the cross, but I never contemplated such a heavy one as this." Being asked, when expiring, whether he wanted anything, he died with the reply upon his lips, "I want Christ." In what a roundabout way had he sought him ! How much simpler to have let himself be blessed in accepting the simple all-sufficing invitation of the Saviour to come unto Him and find rest for his soul !

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The Emperor had one last crushing blow before Borja preached the funeral sermon at the obsequies, which he ordered to be celebrated at Valladolid a few weeks before his death.

He heard from the Regent Joanna that congregations of heretics had been discovered in Valladolid and Seville. That was too much for the Emperor. The stolid demeanour he had maintained when Francis I. was in full power, and when, sorely pressed, he had to flee before Maurice of Saxony, now forsook him. He was enraged at the possibility of such daring deeds under the very eyes of the government, the bishops, and the Inquisition. There was now no room for that hesitation, indecision, and procrastination which had become a second nature to him. He saw danger ahead. "He who hesitates is lost," was the burden of his letters to the Regent, the Queen of Bavaria, Philip, the Grand Inquisitor, and the Secretary Vasquez. He said that the salvation of the Church, as well as the maintenance of the kingdom, required extreme measures of defence for the insurance of unity and security, and it seemed as if he were determined to

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atone for the momentary indulgence, wrung from him before his abdication, by making full use of his opportunity for redressing his so-called weakness. He wrote to the Regent saying that the whole affair had caused him inexpressible anxiety and pain. He had seen how whole kingdoms might sink under such a misfortune, and now, just when he wished to pass the rest of his life in the service of the Lord, the same enormity had arisen in Spain which had cost him so much trouble in Germany, when he had been exposed to losing his health, and driven to the expenditure of immense sums of money. He now therefore called upon them to act in that prompt and severe manner which befitted the gravity of such an offence against the Church as well as the State.

All possible steps, therefore, were to be taken. He entreated the Regent, as forcibly as he could, to command the Archbishop not to quit the court, so that precautions might be taken on every side. She was to impress upon the Inquisitor and the Council of the Inquisition, on behalf of the Emperor, the necessary exertions to be made in the matter. He trusted to her the task of preventing so

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lamentable a misfortune. Joanna was to do all in her power to inflame the zeal of the community, in order that the guilty might be punished, one and all, with the severity due to their guilt. Did he not know from experience that evil must be eradicated by the roots? And was it not certainly now, while the movement was only at its commencement, without depth or strength, that the promptest severity was required to prevent it gaining ground? The exigency of the case was such as to make him almost think, in spite of his physical sufferings, of coming forward himself and using every effort in the suppression of an evil cause which had already given him so much trouble.

Scarcely had the Regent received and communicated the first document to the Archbishop and the Council, when a second one, still more impressive, arrived; Charles was so full of care and trouble that he could scarcely express himself. One must act quite pitilessly, he wrote, even as they had been obliged to do in the Netherlands. If the proper means were not used now, at the commencement of the trouble, neither the king nor anybody else would have power

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to do it later. He did not know whether it would be sufficient to do what was usual in such cases, namely, that the culprit, having received punishment, should be vouchsafed pardon on confessing his guilt, repenting, and pleading for mercy. If liberated, would he not be embittered by his punishment, and encouraged to do the same harm again out of revenge, and with the dignity of one who could boast of having suffered? In cases of such mischievous import, he did not consider that the extermination of the evil could be effected by mercy. It might be confidently surmised that by mild jurisdiction the Reformed doctrine would be publicly and widely preached in a year. It should be decided whether it was not justifiable to withhold from these heretics all claim upon mercy, and to proceed against them as insurgents, mutineers, and disturbers of the peace of the State, guilty, in fact, of the crime of rebellion. In Flanders the Inquisition had not been able to make way against opposition, having to face the pretence that there were no heretics there. However, by means of strict laws, penalties of death, and confiscations, he had been able to get

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the upper hand. All minor questions should be left out of sight ; for if so great an evil were not exterminated in its infancy, it would get beyond the power of the king or anybody else. It was by such cruel edicts, in the form of private letters, that the man of prayer showed his sincere anxiety for what he considered the welfare of the throne and of the altar. His confidential majordomo, Luis de Quijada, was sent off to rouse, by word of mouth, to greater vigilance and activity the Princess, the Grand Inquisitor de Valdes, the members of the Castilian Council, and the Primate. Valdes objected that too great precipitancy would prevent them from getting to the root of the matter. If the accused did not confess to-day, they would do so to-morrow by means of persuasion, threats, and, if need be, by dint of torture. And Quijada was told to tell his master that the people had been delighted to hear that he entertained the thought of coming to their assistance.

CHAPTER VII

PROTESTANTS IN VALLADOLID

THE inhabitants of the beautiful city of Valladolid were considered particularly courteous, polished, and pious. It was a town of great trade. Venetian, Genoese, and Flemish merchants trafficked together ; and among those who thirsted after righteousness, Lutheran literature was the most valuable of the imported goods.

Agustin Cazalla became an enthusiastic preacher of Protestantism.¹ He was son of the rich Lord of the Treasury, Pedro Cazalla. Francisca Hernandez, the cheerful but delicate member of the tertiary order of Franciscans, who was subsequently reproved by the Grand Inquisitor for her bright eyes and laughter, lived for some time in the house of the Cazalla family, where she exercised a powerful influence for Protestantism. Theo-

¹ Menendez, *Heterodoxos Españoles*, ii. p. 314.

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logians learnt much from her lips, and the light she threw on the doctrine of the Saviour caused her to be summoned before the Secret Council at Toledo and imprisoned. The court preacher, Ortiz, who declared that Francisca's arrest was a public sin, was soon also taken prisoner, according to the wish of his enemies.¹

But to return to Agustin Cazalla. He became chaplain and court preacher of Charles V., whom he attended for nine years in his travels in Germany and Flanders. It was probably when he was abroad that he first became interested in evangelical questions; and Don Carlos de Seso, a nobleman, who had served under the banner of the Emperor in Italy, confirmed him in these opinions at Logroño. It was in Italy that Seso had heard sermons on the Epistle to the Romans and Galatians, which are sealed books to the Roman Church at the present day; and it was there that he found a willing listener in Agustin Cazalla's brother, pastor of Pedrosa. Seso talked of the Atoner instead of Atonement, trust instead of penance,

¹ E. Boehmer, *Franzisko Hernandez m. Fray Franzisko Ortiz*, 1865.

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acceptance of a Person instead of acceptance of a doctrine, and the worship of the risen Christ instead of the worship of saints. He maintained that Justification was so complete through the Atonement that the doctrine of purgatory, with its financial dealings, was quite contrary to God's Word. To Pedro Cazalla this was a new light; for, according to his Church, he had hitherto taught that only inherited sin was pardoned through Christ's Atonement, and that the pardon for other sins could only be received through penances in this world, or in the intermediate place of purification. In view of the doubts thus aroused respecting the dogma of his Church, Pedro Cazalla begged Seso to consult with Carranza, the archbishop of Valladolid, on the subject.

The conversation was opened by Carranza saying—

“You have said that you doubt the doctrine of purgatory. On what ground may that be?”

“Because,” said Seso, “of the sufficiency of the blood and suffering of our Lord Jesus Christ.”

“No reasons,” returned the archbishop, “are strong enough to dispense with the

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doctrine of the Mother Church, and it is idle to discuss it."

The hint was obeyed, and when given the post of corregidor of Toro, Seso avoided further discussion with Pedro Cazalla.

But the seed of Protestantism, once sown in the heart of his friend, could not be easily eradicated. Pedro Cazalla could not banish the idea of the sufferings of Golgotha affording free pardon both here and hereafter to the believing and faithful, and the more he searched the Scriptures, the more he saw it was the doctrine of the Gospel. At last he finally renounced belief in purgatory as being contrary to revelation. But with the withdrawal of this prop of his faith, other gaps in the bulwark of dogma were revealed. The Articles of belief relating to the power of the Pope, indulgences, and oral confessions, seemed to be also irreconcilable with full pardon of sins, and so the pastor soon renounced these doctrines as well, and recommended his flock to read Juan de Avila's letter on the Atonement of Christ.

After fourteen years of doubt, Domingo de Rojas, a Dominican, also succumbed to the power of the truth.

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In the time of his indecision he said to Carranza—

“I do not know how the Article on Justification is compatible with that of purgatory !”

The archbishop is reported to have replied—

“People cannot grasp the philosophy of the doctrine if they do not believe in the Infallibility of the Church.”

Rojas subsequently compiled an exposition of the Creed from the view of Justification, and circulated it at his own expense. He even hoped to convert Louisa, Duchess of Villahermosa, sister of Francisca de Borja ; but she shut the palace against him from fear of his heretical doctrines.

Seso meanwhile incessantly, but secretly—not “for fear of the Jews,” but for fear of the Holy Office—continued to propagate Protestant doctrines, and his niece, after reading his manuscript on Justification through Atonement, became one of his converts. The result of Seso’s teaching was also apparent in the sermons of Agustin Cazalla, which were now full of evangelical doctrine.

Lutherans, drawn together by their search after truth, met in the paternal house of the

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Cazalla family, where the mother and the daughters (Constance and Beatrix) were Protestants. Their friends Ana Enriquez, the beautiful young daughter of the Marquis de Alcanizes, paid them a visit, and, being much exercised about the doctrine of the efficacy of works, she was told that works were the outcome of gratitude, not the means of grace. She also heard the Protestant statement respecting pardon through the Atonement, and she was finally converted by Domingo de Rojas, who explained to her the value of Luther's teaching. She subsequently ventured to maintain her disbelief in purgatory when face to face with her aunt, Maria de Rojas, a nun in the convent of Santa Catalina.

Francisca de Zuñiga, daughter of the royal official Alfonso de Baeza, was angry with Juan Sanchez for denying purgatory, but under the influence of Rojas and Pedro de Cazalla she overcame her scruples. Thus the society of Lutherans, now numbering members of great families, such as the heir of the marquisate of Poza, Pedro de Sarmiento, &c., increased, and met in secrecy in Valladolid.

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Spanish books began to come from Italy, and helped to confirm the new knowledge of these old truths. Luther's powerful commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians and Carranza's catechism were also instrumental in producing a like result.

CHAPTER VIII

JUAN DE VALDES

JUAN DE VALDES, the twin brother of Alfonso de Valdes, who wrote "The Apology for the Sacking of Rome," went to court at eighteen years of age.¹

His first works were strongly imbued with his brother's Erasmian opinions and style; and his "Conversation between Mercury and Charon, on the War of 1521" might have been written by the author of the "Dialogue between Lactantio and the Priest." Through the influence of the Emperor he went to Italy in the service of Clement VII., but, his sympathy with the temporary movement of free thought and liberal policy bringing him under the suspicion of the Inquisition, he sought to avoid persecution by retiring to Naples, where the "iron viceroy" Pedro de

¹ B. B. Wiffen, "Life and Writings of Juan de Valdes," 1865; Stern, *Alfonso et Juan de Valdes*, p. 504.

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Toledo organised a well-ordered subordinate Spanish province during the one-and-twenty years of his administration.¹

As a Spaniard, Valdes was devoted to the language and literature of his native land, to which he gave much time and study. It was a real pleasure to hear him speak in the "divine language"—as Charles V. termed the Castilian—and friends often met together for this treat at his country house on the Chiaja. It was there that the celebrated congress took place, which was afterwards embodied in the "Dialogue on the Spanish Language"² by Juan Valdes. But the Spaniard was rapidly changing from an Erasmian to a Lutheran, from a worldly man to a converted Christian, from a vassal of the Emperor to a soldier of Christ.

Of attractive appearance and manners, and endowed with a fascinating power of conversation, he exercised a great influence in those more cultured circles of society, where many of the nobility, disgusted with

¹ Reumont, *Die Carafa von Maddalone, Neapel unter spanischen Herrschaft*, 1851, p. 64.

² *Dialogo de la lengua tenido hacia el año 1533, y publicado por primera vez el año 1737.*

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the anti-Christian tendencies of the Renaissance, were asking with fear and trembling, “What shall I do to be saved?” In reply, they were led like sheep by the Spaniard to the healthy and refreshing pastures of Holy Writ.

Luther’s Gospel was the Alpha and Omega of Juan Valdes.

His humility, resulting from a consciousness of his sin, conquered his pride, and his adoration of Christ’s gentleness overcame his natural impetuosity and hastiness of temper; and so he became a man fitted to teach the scions of a nobility brought low by the reverses of war.

Theologians also came to learn the language, and among his congenial friends Valdes counted Occhino, Benedetto de Mantova (who, under the Spaniard, became a powerful expounder of the Atonement of Christ), Peter Martyr Vermigli, Marcantonio Flaminio, who translated the Psalms, and Vittoria Colonna, the friend of Michael Angelo. When weary of Parnassus and Delos (for she was said to be inspired by Plato and Petrarch), this last-mentioned illustrious lady devoted her poetical talents to writing verses

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addressed to Jesus as the inexhaustible fount of eternal happiness.¹ She was greatly affected by Luther's anonymous version of the Psalms, and she derived much help from Valdes, whose spiritual sympathy in speaking of the Atonement outweighed the bitterness of his polemical writings against the hierarchy and priesthood.

To the noble-hearted Duchess Giulia de Gonzaga, widow of Vespasian Colonna, Juan Valdes was also able to afford greater spiritual help with his evangelical opinions than were Sales, St. Cyran, the duchesse de Grammont, the Princess de Guise, or Fenelon. He continued to be her teacher, counsellor, and friend, until she retired to the convent of Santa Chiara, a model building of Neapolitan mediævalism, where she determined to devote her life to prayer and meditation on the Word of God, being quite one in spirit with those who witnessed a good confession and suffered martyrdom for the Gospel. Dying, she consigned her soul to

¹ Reumont, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom*, iii.; Caballero Conquenses illustres, iv. p. 195; Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxis Espanoles*, ii. p. 178; *Rime e Lettere di Vittoria Colonna*, 1865.

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the Saviour, in whose cause she had herself been cited to appear before the Inquisition. It was especially for the enlightenment of the illustrious Giulia Gonzaga that Juan Valdes, between the years 1536 and 1540, wrote the "Christian A B C."

In this "A B C"¹ Valdes gave a clear and practical picture of what was involved in sin, conversion, salvation, Christian and doctrinal perfection, heaven and hell. This book proved a veritable lifeboat, rescuing Giulia Gonzaga from the storm-tossed sea of indecision and doubt in which she was struggling; for, although roused by Occhino's sermons to long for a conviction of sin and a sense of pardon, she remained halting between the terror of public opinion if she changed her faith, and the terror of damnation if she remained as she was. In his "Exposition of the Psalms," Valdes showed that his special study of the Scriptures had relation to Salvation, and that he had thoroughly thrown himself into the spirit of David without regard to people or their opinions. He saw that God's goodness,

¹ *Alfabeto cristiano che insigna la vera via d'acquistare il lume dello spirito santo.*

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mercy, kindness, truth, and justice in the order of the world, were evidenced in the book of the psalmist, whilst it condemned the depravity, instability, falsehood, godlessness, and wickedness of man. David's dealings with God afforded Valdes a mirror for testing by examination the reality of his own fear and love of God, and gave him an opportunity for showing that the prophecies of David were fulfilled in the person of Christ, and that this evidence affords a bulwark to the faith of those who accept God's word and trust in His promises, and that it stands as a pledge for the fulfilment of what remains to be revealed.

Valdes' translation and commentary of the Epistle of the Romans completed the work which was begun with the Psalms. The right interpretation of such portions of the Scriptures, he maintained, was attainable only by the surrender of the heart to Christ, and not by vanity and curiosity. His exposition is largely elucidated by concise, striking definitions of such words as gospel, Spirit, faith, hope, love, justice, grace, sin, flesh, and law. If Valdes made more than 3000 converts in Naples, it was mainly due to his "Con-

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siderations," which his followers rated very highly, for in them, with a natural graciousness, eloquence, and authority, he opens the eyes of inquirers to the glad tidings of the great divine gift of pardon and reconciliation. The author enters deeply into all matters pertaining to this world and the next, and enforces his remarks with such clear, concise, and irrefutable references to Scripture, and with such striking illustrations, examples, comparisons, and parables, that he carries his readers with him. He describes in an exhaustive manner the union, through conversion, of the Christian commonwealth with Christ and the Holy Spirit ; and evinces a deeper insight into Christianity than had before been shown by any Protestant of the Peninsula. The influence of Valdes became powerful enough to attract the notice of the Pope, and to stamp his opinions as those of a leader in the Christian community to which he belonged. In 1542 his teaching (under the name of "Valdesianism") was arraigned in Naples by a special Inquisitor. Many of his friends were proscribed and put to death, and his writings narrowly escaped destruction. He died in 1541, and shortly afterwards the

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persecution of his followers began—for, the powerful Viceroy having put down the Italian nobility with an iron hand, it only wanted a sign from the Emperor to have the same energy turned against the Valdesians, and this persecution preceded the laying waste of the Protestant oases in Valladolid and Seville.

CHAPTER IX

PROTESTANT PREACHERS IN ANDALUSIA

LUTHER's opinions soon spread to Andalusia, reaching the city of Seville, whose walls, with their sixty-six towers and fifteen gates, formed an imposing environment, including within them the palaces of merchant-princes, and more than a hundred churches and monasteries.

Rodrigo de Valer was a man of property at Lebrija. Hunting, gambling, and horses were his great delight; but a change of opinions worked a revolution in his life, and all his former amusements were abandoned. He now lived like a Franciscan monk, read the Latin Bible till he nearly knew it by heart, and was thus able to compare the doings of worldly priests with the divine ideal of a spiritual life. He had scarcely discovered the flagrant contradiction between the Real and the Ideal, when he began openly

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to expose it. He held up the mirror of truth to religious orders, and he expressed in public places his opinions as to the hopeless demoralisation of the Church.

From the steps of the cathedral he openly declaimed as a messenger of Christ against the priesthood for being idle, cunning, and immoral. When he came in contact with the priests, who, inflated with the authority of their orders, asked how he, a layman, dared to despise the lights and pillars of the Church, from whence he had obtained his knowledge and his power, he would reply, "Not from the foul swamps of your wisdom, but from the pure stream of grace granted to the believing heart." The Holy Spirit, he maintained, was limited to no special caste, and certainly not to a depraved one like that of their profession. Fishermen were raised to be apostles, so as to put to shame the whole blind synagogue; and Christ, in whose name he worked, had sent him. In this way he taught the necessity for the conversion of a priest before he could fulfil the duties of his office. At first this *furor divino* was taken for lunacy, and the street-preacher was let alone. But when the de-

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nunciations continued with unabated zeal, he was summoned before the Inquisition, where he gave an address on the ideal character of the true Church and the doctrine of Justification. The discourse was declared to be that of a madman. His property was nearly all confiscated for law expenses, and he was left well-nigh penniless.

Some years later the accusation was repeated, with the result that the accused had to stand in the cathedral between the two choirs with the san-benito, and was kept a prisoner in the Monastery of San Lucas de Barrameda; the aged Christian was spared the anguish of an *auto-da-fe*. He had to attend mass in San Salvador every Sunday; and it once happened that he stood up and gave the lie to the sermon that was being preached. After his death there was an inscription put in the sacristy of the cathedral — “To the memory of Rodrigo de Valer, born in Lebrija, apostate and pseudo-apostle in Seville, who called himself an ambassador of God.” Rodrigo may not have been free from error upon some points, but he was certainly not mad. A man full of divine energy, although a fool in the opinion of

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the world, he could not have failed to influence his contemporaries.

Juan Gil (Egidio), from Olvera in Aragon, had pursued his studies in Alcala. There, in the Roman Church, he was in danger of neglecting that study of the Scriptures, which was considered secondary to a recognition of the infallibility of clerical power. They who held the latter doctrine did not teach that divine revelation takes its stand upon certain facts, and that without the full acceptance of these facts, apart from the ideas and representations they give rise to, man's heart cannot be in harmony with the full, lively, and saving acts of God. The result was that those who spent their time at the University in the long wearisome study of a mass of idle questions which turned the bread of God into stones, could not attain to a real knowledge of the Word of God. Gil left Alcala with the reputation of a scholar of blameless life, and he became a professor of theology in Siguenza. In 1557 he was appointed Canon by the Chapter of Seville, merely on the strength of his good recommendations, and without any question as to whether he was eloquent or not, for

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the three canonries of every cathedral were generally filled by the best men from the best colleges. As soon as the new Doctor went into the pulpit the oversight and mistake were regretted. His rivals who had been passed over were delighted to find that he was a bad preacher. The Chapter was reproved, and the church became empty. It was in vain that Gil tried to acquire eloquence from books. In despair he thought of resigning his office. Then he came across Rodrigo Valer, who spoke to him in a way to which he had been quite unaccustomed in Alcala. He told him that to be able to preach well, he required books and studies different from those which had hitherto supplied him with learning. Gil soon discovered that his adviser had obtained his wisdom from prophets and apostles, rather than from subtle teachers, and after following in the same path, he became quite a different man himself.

His hearers soon noticed the difference in the preacher, who now, instead of showing off his own learning, tried to make his congregation acquainted with the knowledge of the Lord. The cleric who had been formerly

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scorned and despised, became so celebrated by his powerful witness to the truth, that the Emperor offered him the see of Tortosa, the bishop of which had been elevated to the papal chair.

Directly it seemed probable that Gil might have a mitre, the Inquisition tried to incriminate him and catch him in his speech. They wanted to know whether he opposed the worship of saints and pictures, whether he denied purgatory and the merit of good works, whether he taught the doctrine of Justification and Sanctification, and whether or not he upheld the Church as the only ground of truth. He had certainly removed from the Church a piece of the true cross, and an image of the Virgin which San Fernando had carried with him in all his campaigns. The inquiry went against him. The tribunal decreed imprisonment. When confined in the old Moorish castle of the Triana, a suburb of the city of Seville, from which it is separated by the Guadalquivir, Gil wrote his "Apology." The Chapter appealed to the Emperor on his behalf. Antonio de Corro made a motion for a free defence, irrespec-

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tive of his colleague, Pedro Diaz, and his obstinate partisanship of Valer. The prisoner wished to have Fuente and Carranza as his advocates. In the absence of the former, the Jeromite Garcí-Arias took his place, but no one was satisfied with his ambiguous defence. Domingo Soto came from Salamanca, and managed so that on the 21st of August 1552 Gil, in the presence of a large congregation in the cathedral, forswore ten articles, recanted eight, and declared seven others to be Catholic. If the account of the event be true, the accused was overreached by artifice, for Soto recited a different formula from that which had been prearranged; and Gil, ignorant of the fact, stationed in another pulpit, gave signs of assent to points he had not understood, and thereby greatly distressed his audience.

The Auto of 1552 condemned him to three years' imprisonment. He was forbidden to quit Spain or, for a year, to read mass, and for ten years he was inhibited from preaching, hearing confessions, or taking part in any doctrinal work. He was enjoined to attend certain churches fifteen times, to confess once a month, to communicate at the

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discretion of his father confessor, and to fast every Friday.

Before this expiatory punishment was completed, the Lutheran died at Valladolid in 1556. The Chapter had granted him an income of 600 ducats while he was under the sentence, and he was accorded a tomb, and a funeral-sermon, in the cathedral. Friends preserved the manuscripts that he left, some of which were the outcome of his prison leisure. These writings include expositions of the book of Genesis, the Psalms, the Song of Solomon, and the Epistle to the Corinthians. Throughout all these expositions the effect of his troubles finds expression in an increased spiritual power, and his own experience of what Christian consolation means enables him to impart it to others. These testimonies to his faith are sufficient to cancel all his supposed recantations.

CHAPTER X

CONSTANTINO PONCE DE LA FUENTE

CONSTANTINO PONCE DE LA FUENTE was born in 1500, at San Clemente in La Mancha. Having entered the University of Alcala, he soon became the leader of a band of students, whose pranks and peccadilloes were as proverbial as their hunger and their threadbare cloaks. A student's life consisted of continual change—amusements, studies, discussions, music, dancing, wrestling, friendship, rivalries, entertainments, and feasts. They sometimes wandered through the country as beggars, improvising with their guitars and tambourins, and travelling with one mule, which carried each of them in turn. But a time came when Constantino's frivolity was exchanged for seriousness. Nothing thenceforward remained of the light-hearted student but his enjoyment of a song, and his aptitude for sharp answers and for biting anec-

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dotes, which made people say that he had a wasp's nest in his mouth—a tongue which could annihilate his adversary. After a long period of deep study of the Bible, he was appointed by the Chapter of Seville as one of the cathedral preachers, and was ordained priest by the Bishop of Maruecas in the diocese of the Archbishop Manrique. It was he who preached the funeral sermon of the Empress, upon which occasion the crowd was so great that people went at four o'clock in the morning to secure places for eight o'clock. The biographer Borjas Cienfuegos,¹ speaking of Constantino, says : "His eloquence was marvellous. The power of his persuasions took hold of the affections, gave food for thought, and finally fascinated his audience." This opinion is confirmed by his six sermons on the 1st Psalm.²

After preaching several sermons on the Gospels, he took some other texts to show how the Atonement of Christ is the converging point of unity in all the seeming variety

¹ Ticknor, "History of Spanish Literature," 3rd ed., iii. 99.

² *Exposicion del primer Psalmo de David, divido en 6 sermones por el doctor Constantino.*

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of the ways that lead to Truth. We must flee to the fount of Christ's blood to attain salvation. There we shall find forgiveness, self-knowledge, horror of sin, strength for conversion, eyes to see the grace of God, faith to follow Him, and a heart to love Him. Our weakness should not discourage us, for the greater it is, the more earnestly should we pray for the means of grace. And then, having withdrawn every excuse from his hearers, Fuente waxes warm with sympathy for the struggle before them. "O brothers!" he says, "your misery shows your need; your blindness testifies to your want of light; your restlessness demands the rest which it is your duty to implore. I will show what you require, I will give you more than you dare to ask, I will teach you what you are looking for. You wish to be holy, and you do not know how to become so. In a few words I will tell you the secret, with full security for its verification."

It was said of Fuente that he seemed to look down from a tower on the whirl and confusion of man's sins, and that the Bible was to him as the mirror of men's hearts.

He never glossed over the truth. He said

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if there were no counsel of the ungodly, there would not be, before their very eyes, the baneful divisions, the shameless and infamous conspiracies, the deceiving liars, the scorn of the truth, the support of lies and treachery, the fearful superstitions, and the heavily-burdened consciences which brought shame and disgrace on the name of Christians. Fuente was as open in his condemnations as Juan de Sahagan, the baron who publicly chastised his ill-conducted vassals. Garcia de Toledo, Duke of Alba, called Fuente to task on his boldness, saying, if he were not more moderate in his language, he would find himself taken up on the high-road. The brave monk replied : "I give you my word, that if any one molests me on the high-road, I will give him such a blow with this breviary that he will be glad to let me go again." When Alba laughed, Fuente added : "Do I go up into the pulpit to tell the truth, or lies? Your Highness knows that he who preaches must tell the truth, and must be ready to die for it."¹

But other people besides Alba complained of Constantino's severity. Was he not rather

¹ Wilkens, *Fray Luis de Leon*, p. 16.

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hard on the sinner and the ungodly? If his doctrine were true, who could go to heaven? If his words were as severe as they sounded, God must be very hard. "But," said the preacher, "one must recollect that one's incapacity for good should not be an excuse for love of sin. One's powerlessness should not be a reason to reject God's help, and so become hardened and rebellious sinners, oblivious to the voice of conscience, the threats of God's Word, and the fear of His judgment. Pride and blindness must be in the ascendant when it is expected that soft and sweet words can foretell a good end to a bad course, and that God can bless a teacher who shows the wrong way whereby to reach His mercy and goodness. If pride were not so prevalent, severity would not be necessary; but it becomes necessary when men resist so stubbornly the confession of weakness, and make such long tarrying in the valley of self-sufficiency, before they surrender to the voice of conscience and of God."

The following extract gives an idea of the writer's opinions and power of expression:—

"When once the sinner acknowledges his weakness, the penalty of his sin is withdrawn.

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The righteous man says, ‘ If I have a horror of my sin, it is Thou, Lord, who hast given it me. If I advance on the path of righteousness, it is Thou who wilt support me. My weakness is caused by my wickedness. If I give up trying to be holy of myself, and if, in spite of Thy help, I am still wicked, it is the harvest of my unregenerate nature, it is the evil result of my former condition, it is a proof of what I should be were I left by Thee. Thy word, Lord, supports and comforts me with the hope that Thy mercy will hear and judge me at the last, that Thou wilt intercede for me when I have nothing to say ; that Thou, through the blood of Thy Son, wilt do for me what I cannot do for myself. Thou wilt purify what is impure ; Thou wilt complete what is incomplete, and so manifest what Thou art, and what Thou givest.’ Such are the arms which protect the godly before a judgment-seat, where the ungodly is defenceless. Such is the shield of conscience, which may be broken but never withdrawn. With this trust man does not fall from despair, stiff-necked resistance, or the concealment of his sin. He stands firm in hope, for it is rooted in the mercy of God.”

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In his “Confession of a Sinner,”¹ Fuente, in a style that reminds one of Richard Baxter, preaches with still greater earnestness on the necessity of real confession to God in the evangelical sense. It is a masterpiece of theological writing :—

“ O Thou only-begotten Son, delivered by the Eternal Father to be the Ransom, the Redemption, the Sacrifice, and the Judge of mankind, I come, O Lord, that Thou shouldest hear me tell, not of my righteousness, but of my sins ; not of my goodness, but of my faults, and of the heinous offences which I have committed, not only against mankind, but against the majesty and goodness and the mercy of Thy Father. On the one hand—dragged and constrained by the pains and torments of hell, that are inwardly suggested by my misdeeds, and, on the other hand, called by Thy mercy to know, although too late, what Thou hast been to me, and what I have been to Thee—I come accused by my own conscience, condemned by it, constrained by the tortures of self-knowledge, to tell and confess before men, before angels, in the presence of earth, and in the presence

¹ *La Confesion de un pecador penitente*, 1556.

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of Heaven, before the tribunal of Thy Majesty and divine justice, that I justly deserve to be condemned to perpetual banishment from the joys of heaven, and to perpetual misery in association with Satan as his slave.

“My Redeemer and my God, my suit would be ended wert Thou to sentence and condemn sinners. Woe were me! If angels had to judge me, if I had to judge myself; if in confessing my transgressions and shortcomings my creditor were at once to proceed to execution; if upon the knowledge of my guilt no respite were granted me; if, when unable to reply, my adversary’s accusation were pronounced as just; if, when unable to pay, I were then cast into prison at my enemy’s discretion, then were my lot wretched and disastrous indeed. It hath pleased Thee that this should be earthly justice, in order that we should be by it exposed to the loss of earthly things. But as by such justice, O Lord, we should run the risk of losing heaven, and of losing Thee, Thy goodness, in order to meet this exigency, hath ordained new laws of justice, drawn from the greatness of Thy mercy, by which Thy ways should

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become as distinct from those of the world
as is Heaven from earth.

“Blessed art Thou, O Lord! and may those ever praise Thee who learn to know that such is Thy judgment-seat, that Thou camest into the world not to condemn sinners, but to save them; that, being just, Thou art the Judge and Advocate of the guilty, and the Adversary of his accuser; that Thou didst undergo such trials, and wast tempted in various ways that we might have greater pledges of Thy mercy; that Thou art holiness for the sinner, righteousness for the guilty, payment and satisfaction for the poverty-stricken, and the Advocate for him that knows not how to plead. This knowledge of Thee, my Redeemer, draws me to Thee. This knowledge of Thee has prevailed more with me than that knowledge of myself which would have forbidden me to dare to present myself before Thee.

“Where, Lord, shall I begin to enumerate my sins? what course shall I follow that the miseries of my life may be better set forth? Well do I see, O my Redeemer, that Thou knowest my career thoroughly, but I had to know myself in order the better to know

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Thee. Well do I know that the sum of my sins is innumerable, for they exceed in number the hairs of my head, or the sand on the sea-shore. But at least I would dwell awhile upon some of my wretched doings, in order that just as I at one time made a sport of my sins, so now my eyes and heart may weep when contemplating the extent to which I squandered away in dissipation the blessings of Thy Providence. Give me, O Lord, eyes that I may see myself, and strength that I may bear up under self-scrutiny. For my sins are so numerous and so aggravated that I myself am ashamed to recognise them as mine, and am tempted to relieve myself by another sin, that of disowning and denying myself as though I could discover another self less guilty. But with all this, Lord, I see Thy mercy is such, that whilst I close my eyes, when confronted by my sins, Thou keepest Thine open and fixed upon them all; for it is clear, O Redeemer of the world, that Thou lookest upon wounds in order to heal them, that, however hideous they may be, they do not disgust Thee, and that Thou descendest to heal them with Thy hands.

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Guide me, O my Lord, and draw me to Thyselv, for alone I shall not attain to know myself. Thy presence shall give me strength to endure self-scrutiny. Hold me, that I flee not from myself. Sustain me, that I yield not to despair. Impose silence upon Satan until Thou answerest for me."

The form of this work is in accordance with the "Confessions" of St. Augustine, and Anselm of Canterbury, and its ejaculations remind one of the Psalms. Then follow the Ten Commandments and the Articles of the Creed, which all take their part in the accusation and the condemnation of the sinner. The sweet tones of the Gospel are then heard bringing consolation to the repentant heart, reduced almost to despair by a deep conviction of sin.

All that Fuente says of mariolatry in his Catechism¹ is, that the purity of the Holy Virgin is an example for us. The exposition of the Decalogue is simple, comprehensive, and illustrated by good examples. In his explanations of the right doctrine of the Holy Sacrament, as bearing upon the

¹ *Catechismo cristiano compuesto por el doctor Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, 1546.*

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teaching of transubstantiation, he says that the celebration of High Mass only celebrates the representation of the sufferings of Christ. Such was the production of a book rich in thought and concise in expression, helpful to the understanding of sound doctrine and to the reconciliation of many seemingly irreconcilable scriptural passages. Nothing was said about papal supremacy, indulgences, or purgatory. Its beautiful style and its incomparable treatment of the subject with which it dealt, gave it such a large circulation that in eight years it went through four editions. It was dedicated to Garcia de Loyasa, Archbishop of Seville.

Fuente, in spite of illness and other hindrances, was always full of literary projects. In his sermons he tried to give an exhaustive treatise on sin, and Christian virtue, and he arranged the extracts from the Epistles and Gospels according to the order of the ecclesiastical year. Before that was completed, it became evident that the Church required a clear exposition of Christian doctrine. The ignorance of the clergy in the provinces was caused by the dearth of good books, and so the mysteries of faith were often treated

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according to ideas from their own heads. When bishops ordained such pastors, it was like sending forth soldiers against the enemy unprovided with weapons for their defence, or telling them to provide food for their sheep when they were hungry themselves.

As Diogenes rolled his tub when he saw everybody preparing for war, Fuente did not wish to remain idle in the time of need, and therefore proceeded to compile the required Exposition of Christian Doctrine.¹ He was anxious to supply what was necessary for the pastors and their flocks, to the exclusion of all subtle and distracting questions of mere intellectual curiosity. They were not to have stones instead of bread, nor were the lukewarm to be shut out from the effect of burning enthusiasm. Beginners were to be shown the road to the knowledge and practice of those higher things which accrue to Christian life and Christian thought and deed. The Creed, the Decalogue, and the doctrine of prayer, fast-

¹ *Doctrina christiana, en que esta comprendida toda la informacion, que pertenece al hombre que quiere servir à Dios. Por el doctor Constantino. Parte primera. De los articulos de la fé, 1548, fol. 315a, &c.*

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ing, confession, and the sacraments are treated in the three parts of the book, which was instrumental in throwing light on difficulties, administering counsel, and dispersing doubt. It was also the means of indicating ways of serving the Lord, who had done such great things for them. An outline of sacred history formed an introduction to the work. It was deficient in deep learning, but striking in fine thoughts.

Fuente explains the Apostles' Creed in such a clear, concise, and practical manner that his remarks, counsels, and ideas awaken gratitude to the author.

The great object of the writer was to rid the truth of error and misapprehension, and to show the weakness of prejudices founded on half knowledge. Christianity was indeed a knowledge unto salvation, and great was the risk run by those who rejected articles of faith treating of a doctrine so rich in hope and comfort.

The circumstances of time and place made him assiduous in pressing home the necessity of maintaining the truth in the face of the Jews and Moors, and the gist of Christian doctrine is given in a concise, thoughtful,

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and reverent form. He concludes with exhaustive and eloquent remarks on the collective testimony to the truth of our Faith. Such evidence, he said, could not be affected by our opinions, neither could any fresh arguments add to the weight of its authority, which was of God. Christians did not require additional proof to make them confess and practise the Christian doctrine; it was sufficient for their peace and joy to see that, in the continual confirmation of His work, God had left no excuse for the unbelieving and the rebellious. His description of the life, miracles, and parables of our Lord is distinguished by its spirituality, reverence, power, delicacy, and beauty. It is verily a compass to guide us through the storms of evil into the haven of peace; it is a thread to lead us through the labyrinth of various opinions and doctrines, and it helps us to close our ears to the din of the world.

Fuente dedicated the first part of the *Doctrina christiana* to Charles V., and this first volume of the work was found in the small collection of the Emperor's favourite books at San Yuste.

Constantino Fuente was accustomed to

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the opposition and the malignity of the enemies of truth, and was unacquainted with conciliatory methods.

The Inquisition had never authorised the book, and it was subsequently forbidden, not so much for what it contained as for what the evidently "heretic" author had omitted. The word "heretic" designated an obstinate repudiator of those truths which were supposed to be involved in the Christian faith, but which Luther and his followers ignored. Nothing was said of Mary by so-called heretics, beyond that which was found in the Bible. No mention was made of the treasures of the Church, of indulgences, pope, or masses. The baneful doctrine of merit was omitted, for Fuente considered it as rottenness at the very core of piety to make God the debtor of the sinner, according to the sense of Aristotle and Pelagius, rather than in the sense of God's Word, the doctrine of Augustine, and the teaching of Luther. There was no reference in the work to traditions. It was quite sufficient for the true Christian that a truth is clearly set forth in the Holy Scriptures for him to accept and believe it. To take fables

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instead of the Bible, is to take the shadow for the substance, to take the seeming for the real. There is in such traditions little corn amid much straw, and little fruit amid many leaves. Amid such a variety of doctrines it is difficult to find a safe resting-place for the heart. Fuente draws all his information from the clear springs of the Bible. Instead of the dry bones of learning, he takes the living truths of Scripture, and he never tires of expounding the doctrine of sin, and making his readers gaze into the depths of the abyss. The Christian must overcome his fears of the law by the thought of that which not only affords justification from guilt, but true grace for the fulfilment of the law. Man's fall was so great that it demanded the redemption of humanity as a whole. God's great work had been spoilt by the devil, and only God could set it right again. Human nature had been turned to evil, and only the Divine Saviour could convert it back to good. He alone could redeem mankind from its state of enmity to God, and so completely fulfil the work of reconciliation that men can be declared the children of God and heirs of eternal life.

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The work of remission of sins is so essentially the office of our Lord, that no creature in heaven or earth can grant it. Fuente added his Spanish translation of the Sermon on the Mount to the second edition of the *Suma de doctrina christiana*. He calls this most powerful sermon the sun amid stars, maintaining that it could only have emanated from the Light of the World, the Saviour of mankind. The value of the book is enhanced by the remarks of the translator, which form the introduction. He said it was dissimulation and worldly wisdom that distorted God's Word into a means for affording false security to heart and conscience, and for letting people think they can live as they like in this world without their future state being affected. "Rightly understood, the Sermon on the Mount brings one to a true state of self-consciousness with a low estimation of one's own strength. The discovery of the gulf betwixt the Ideal of the Lord and the wickedness of the heart, drives one to the Fountain of mercy, and teaches one that for all fulfilment of the law one must fly for help and strength to the Author of the Divine law. What the Lord

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says is to be understood according to the spirit, not according to a superstitious subservience to the letter of the law. The great promises of the Saviour inspire man to great effort, and for this we must keep the eye of faith fixed upon Him who is one with the Father, who is the Forgiver of all sins, even of all the wrong which the world wrought Him, and who, in the ocean of His love, embraces both friends and enemies. He was persecuted for righteousness' sake that we should have righteousness. He was afflicted that we might have joy. He wept for our sins that we should have atonement; the Father made Him the Author and Founder of Salvation that we, being like Him in obedience, might share with Him the glory of the reward."

Pedro Maxia, the Imperial historian, after having heard the celebrated preacher, said, "As true as God lives, that is no sound doctrine, that is not what our fathers taught us."

The "Summary of Christian Doctrine,"¹

¹ *Suma de doctrina en que se contiene todo lo principal y necesario, que el hombre cristiano debe saber y obrar, 1544, 1545, 1550, 1551. Reformistas antiguos Españoles, xix. 1863.*

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published before the “Confession of a Sinner,” also excited suspicion. It showed how the author understood the art of making deep subjects comprehensible to children, when directing their attention to the chief points of doctrine.

The “Catechism for Beginners,” which appeared in 1546, contains an outline of the “Summary of Christian Doctrine.” It was Juan Fernandez Temino, Bishop of Leon, who asked Constantino to undertake this task. He did so at the suggestion of his friend Arias Montano, a great admirer of Fuente’s works, who had shown him how difficult it was to resist an influence that had proved so fruitful in the harvest of souls. Fuente delayed at first to accede to the request, as he feared that the simple light of truth might pale under his interpretation. However, his exposition of the second article of faith showed that this fear was groundless.

“It is,” he said, “the question of the Son which is here treated, and we speak of Him as equal with the Father in Godhead and wisdom, begotten from eternity.” We call Him Jesus and Saviour, for He sanctifies

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the world ; Christ, because the Father has anointed Him King of mankind ; and Lord, because He is our Redeemer, Defender, and Judge. He is called the Incarnate Son, for He alone is the Divine Son of the Father, and we mortals are only God's children by adoption. We must rejoice at having such a Master, and endeavour to follow His will, and we must never cease to thank the Father for giving us His only Son for the sake of the inestimable benefits which are afforded to us by such a gift."

Fuente was a person to whom nobody could be indifferent. People either loved or hated him. He had been of help to many, but boasted few trusted friends, for men were envious of his gifts and success. He never made attacks upon the stupid monks and wretched preachers of the day, but that did not prevent ecclesiastical dignitaries taking umbrage at the great theologian, the keen thinker and mighty orator. Contented with his books and frugal meals, poor without avarice or ambition, he resigned his canonries of Cuenca and Toledo. The Primate Cardinal Sileceo had instituted a course of inquiry respecting ancestral dignity, so as to have only men of

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pure blood as dignitaries of the Church, and to exclude "Jewish rabble," as he called those of low degree—a term much resented by men who knew that he himself had come from the field and plough, and had attained his position without either learning or virtue.

An impending inquiry, according to the Statute of Limpieza, made Fuente tremble for the repose of his forefathers' ashes. The Emperor, less anxious on the point, and a friend of the good preacher's, took him to Germany and the Netherlands as his appointed chaplain. During this attendance on Philip he made his mark in his Lent sermons at Brussels in 1549. He went to England and Trent; tried to persuade Enzinas to return to his native land; and after seven years' absence came back to Seville. Here, under commission of the Chapter, he preached his Lent sermons every third day. Hardly recovered from a severe illness, he had to be carried into the church, and in the pulpit he had to take wine and water during his discourse.

At the "College of the Children of Truth," a sort of academical gymnasium,

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he, as Gil's appointed successor, had to expound the Old Testament books. The Chapter wished Fuente to take Gil's stall in the cathedral of Seville. Eight canonries of every cathedral were for the most part occupied by members of the great colleges. Fuente looked upon the whole business as a sort of jugglery trick. The candidates, he said, were like hungry vultures, ready to pounce upon their prey. He declared that his delicacy of health precluded him from preaching. The archbishop Fernando de Valdes, a worldly, artificial, proud prelate, inimical to Fuente, and jealous of his rights in the Chapter, would grant no dispensation. He announced through Francisco de Ovando, his delegate in matters of jurisdiction, that he required compliance with all the conditions whereby the purity of blood and of doctrine had to be insured, and to avoid the recurrence of heresies, like those of Gil, no one was to be admitted to the Chapter who was the least unorthodox, or whose ancestors had been weak in the faith. Any one who supported a candidate who could not comply with all these conditions was liable to the penalty of excommunication.

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and a fine of 500 ducats, which was to go to the Imperial Exchequer for the Turkish war. A rival of the name of Maguelo accused Fuente of sins during his student life, and of breaches of orthodoxy when a priest and a doctor. Neither party would yield, on the ground of rights and privileges. The provisor was as inflexible as his archbishop, who wished to appeal to Rome. Some of the bulls on the matter did not hold good in Spain, and some were insufficient for the point. The law about purity of blood was only for the purpose of excluding sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of condemned heretics. For anybody, said Fuente, who had been during twenty years a priest, preacher, and theologian of blameless life and calling, charges of craft, artifice, and intrigue were superfluous. If any of the accusations were true, the members of the Chapter, under whose eyes he worked, would have heard of them, whilst it was noteworthy that the archbishop had authorised Fuente's position in the pulpit; and Philip had offered him the dignity of Doctor of Divinity at Malaga. After long controversy, arbitration was

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suggested, and rejected by the provisor as suspicious. But in spite of fears of excommunication, Constantino Fuente was unanimously elected.

Appealing from the archbishop to the Pope, the deputy, Alfonso Guerrero, petitioned the king to confer the canonry on the successful candidate. Ovando declared the whole business null and void, and the Chapter appealed against it through the procurators. The provisor had Fuente imprisoned, but he was soon released by permission of the Chapter; and unconcerned about his election to the canonry, he held a discourse for the pacification of the contending parties. The *procés* went to Rome, the Rota confirmed Fuente in his possession of the canonry, and he was excused from the cathedral service whenever he wished to preach, or had to prepare himself for the pulpit. The Inquisition meanwhile waxed in power and pertinacity, and it was not long before Fuente had to suffer for the Protestant drift of his opinions.

CHAPTER XI

A DISSEMINATOR OF SPANISH PROTESTANT LITERATURE

IN the sixteenth century Spain was indeed like a darkened house. The blinds of bigotry were drawn down, the doors of distrust were shut, the portals of persecution frowned.

Julianillo Hernandez, a lad from Villa-verde, near Campos, had seen the light of truth when led by circumstances to Germany, and having once lived in that light, he determined that his native land should also bask in its rays. Poor, weak, and insignificant, hardly anything but skin and bone, the historian tells us that he was rich, strong, and capable in the power of his faith.

Clever men had been to Germany, and, after feeding for a time on the food of truth, they returned home to Spain to starve from want of spiritual nourishment. The ports were watched, the book-stores were con-

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stantly searched by order of the Inquisition, and steadfast souls had to relinquish in despair the difficult task of importing the Bible and Protestant works into Spain.

But it was the old story of the mouse and the lion. Julianillo, in the face of such tremendous obstacles, could do but little, but that little was worth much; and the colporteur's efforts in the cause of Protestantism resulted in providing the converts with the intellectual and spiritual food from which the net of superstition had kept them.

His fearless conduct reminds one of an old Spanish story.

In the Alpujarras mountains there was a narrow bridge over the Tablate. The Moors had nearly destroyed it, and the remains hung like a spider's web in the air, no soldier daring to put his foot on it. Then the Franciscan brother, Cristobal de Molina, took the crucifix in his left hand and his sword in his right, and with a shield on his shoulder and his garments girt about him, he ventured to make the terrible passage. So Julianillo, his heart filled with the Crucified One, and with the shield and sword of God's Word, trod the narrow path of difficulty over the chasm

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of danger, to the joy and comfort of his brethren in the faith. In order to avoid the penalty of propagating Protestant books, he secreted copies of the Scriptures, and works of the Reformed faith, between the so-contrived double sides of his chest and casks, of which, as colporteur, he had the charge, and thus he brought them to Spain.

It was in this way that Juan Ponce de Leon's house was enriched with the possession of New Testaments; for, through the influence of the Protestant Fuente, he, too, had come to the knowledge of the truth, and thankful for the discovery of "the pearl of great price," had devoted his wealth to its propagation.

Thus Spanish gold was sent to Germany for the translation of the works which the colporteur contrived to bring into the country from the Netherlands.

The young Dr. Cristobal de Lozada, with his Lutheran bride, rivalled their friends in enthusiasm for the Protestant cause; and Fernando de San Juan, Rector of the Colegio de la Doctrina, a much-respected teacher, proclaimed the Gospel to his pupils, among whom was Maria Bohorques, who imparted

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her knowledge to Gil, with the result that he became a fervent Protestant. One of the striking features in the movement of the sixteenth century was the great influence exercised by the many clever women of the age. Time and space fail me now to pursue the subject further, but I must mention that Maria Bohorques, who could read the Vulgate in the original, was only one of the many cultivated women whose lives were closed by the horrors of the *auto-da-fe*.

CHAPTER XII

*JUAN PEREZ, CASSIODORO DE REINA,
ANTONIO DEL CORRO, CIPRIANO DE
VALERA.*

AMONG the works propagated by the brave colporteur Julianillo were those of Juan Perez of Pinedo, from Montilla in Andalusia.¹ He was at the sacking of Rome, and had purchased his safety with 1200 ducats. His subsequent official position in the Colegio de Doctrina in Seville ended with his departure to Geneva to avoid the fate of Gil and Valer. There, glad to devote his work to the service of Christ, he printed his careful and clever Spanish translation of the New Testament.²

This was followed by a Catechism dedicated to the Queen Regent of the Nether-

¹ Menendez Pelayo, *Heterodoxos Españoles*, ii. p. 458.

² *El Testamento nuevo de nuestro Señor y Salvador Jesu Christo. Nuevamente y fielmente traducido del original Griego en romance Castellano*, 1556.

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lands; and by an edition of "Valdes' Commentary on the Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians," dedicated to King Maximilian. The conflict between Spain and Rome decided Perez to try and awaken the conscience of Philip II. by pointing out to him the true state of affairs.

Cassiodoro de Reina was another Protestant fugitive from Spain. From Genoa he went to London, and there, for the benefit of Spanish emigrants, he published his "Confession" in 1530. He left England when a price was put upon his head by Philip II. In want and suffering he worked in Germany for nine years at the translation of the Bible into Spanish, and had it printed in Basle in 1569.

The Calvinists in Antwerp were bitter against the Spanish Protestant because his opinions were Lutheran with regard to the Holy Sacrament, and Alexander of Parma sent Reina and his followers to Frankfort-on-the-Main. Here he formally renounced connection with the Calvinists, and embodied Luther's doctrine concerning the Lord's Supper in a catechism which was gratefully received by the Martinists. Reina spent the

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last years of his life preaching the doctrines of Protestantism in the German town, and out of the 2600 copies that were printed of his translation of the Bible he managed to send several to his brethren in the faith in Spain, who had always a warm place in his heart.

The life of Antonio del Corro was not less stormy than that of Reina, after he left San Isidro.

As in the case of Gil, monks were called to draw the line between heresy and truth; and this line was drawn in a spirit of malignity against the man who preached God's Word, and spent his income upon good works.

Corro took umbrage at the Bible being forbidden, and at the representation of God given by the Catholics and Inquisitors, which seemed to him cruel and unjust. Accordingly, having withdrawn from Spain, and undertaken duty as a pastor in Antwerp, he wrote a very open letter to Philip II., in which he set forth the points of distinction between Protestantism and Catholicism, adding thereto a description of the sufferings of the Netherlanders, and suggesting the means whereby to alleviate them. He told Philip

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in this letter that freedom of faith should be granted to the Protestants in Spain, together with a right to possess the Bible. But Corro only involved himself in a controversy unproductive of results. He complained of the want of unity among Protestants, and in this he was right, for, not being quite Calvinistic enough to please the Calvinists, he had to leave Geneva because of the incessant attacks to which he was subjected. Fortunately the Bishop of London looked kindly on Corro, and the foreign pastor gave an exposition of the Epistle to the Romans to a large congregation at St. Paul's. As a professor at Oxford he attained such celebrity that it seemed at one time probable that he might be raised to a bishopric. This, however, never came to pass.

Cipriano de Valera¹ took up arms against the Catholic Church with all the antagonism of an uncompromising Calvinist. Having been a college friend of the polyglot of Antwerp, he fled from San Isidro to England, and by means of bold, witty, and popular writings, conducted the campaign against what he termed "Satan's Catholic Kingdom."

¹ Menendez, *Heterodoxos Españoles*, ii. p. 492.

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In his Tract on the Pope¹ he makes history, Church doctrine, and councils sit in judgment on the Holy See.

His Tract on High Mass² was an elaboration of that point in the Heidelberg Catechism, wherein it was stated that the Mass was nothing but accursed idolatry. Valera maintained that this ordinance of the Catholic Church was an invention of the devil, a profanation of the Holy Supper, and a monstrous blasphemy of the sacrifice of Christ. In the opinion of the author, the Mass grossly distorted the original import of the Christian rite, making no distinction between real worship and false idolatry. The Real Presence was contested by Calvin's arguments, and enforced by rather broad anecdotes.

After an unknown Spaniard translated Calvin's Catechism and Liturgy, Valera, in 1597, determined to translate Calvin's *Institution* as a thank-offering for his own conversion. Mindful of the command, "When thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren,"

¹ *Tratado del papa y de su autoridad, &c.*, 1588.

² *Tratado de la mesa, recopilado de los doctores y concilios y de la sagrada escritura*, 1588.

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he was indefatigable in his efforts to supply the want of Protestant literature in Spain.

The translation was preceded by an Introduction, addressed to all believers in the Spanish nation who were anxious for the increase of God's kingdom. This Introduction describes the value and use of a right knowledge of God, which, judging from the history of Israel and of the Church, is so easily despoiled by tyranny, false doctrine, lies, and other works of Satan. Calvin is spoken of as the great opponent of false prophets, and of the blind who lead the blind, inasmuch as his *Institution*¹ had treated the articles of the Christian faith in such a masterly fashion that it was now impossible to confound them with heresies, or to refute the scriptural authorities which he gave for all his statements. Seeing that this work had been a comfort to other nations, he was determined that Spain, groaning in the depths of idolatry, ignorance, and superstition under the tyranny of the Inquisition, should not be neglected. It is doubtful, however, whether

¹ *Institucion de la religion Christiana, compuesta en cuatro libros por Calvino, y traduzida por Cipriano de Valera, 1597.*

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Philip's fears as to the landing of shiploads of this popular work were ever realised. It is certain that his work for the confirmation in the faith of Protestant slaves in Barbary never reached its destination.

Valera, it should be remembered, was not content with merely condemning papacy, the worship of saints, holy water, bell consecration, and purgatory. He insisted, at the same time, on Bible reading, and expounded the Creed and the first Epistle of St. Peter in a very practical and touching form. There are other sources of comfort, he says, besides that of *Salve reginas* and *Ave Marias*; and he maintained that the teaching of the Scriptures by the theologians of his day was like the turning of bees' honey into poison. With regard to the doctrine of works, he strikingly remarked that they are acceptable to God for the sake of the person, and the person is accepted for the sake of Christ. "It is therefore," he said, "as impossible for works alone to justify, as it is for a woman to be her own grandmother." He concludes by a defence of the doctrine of the Trinity, bringing prophecy to support those arguments on the Divinity of Christ which were adduced

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by him for the special edification of the Jews. When Clement VIII. (1599) published a "Jubeläum," Valera wrote an "Aviso," for the purpose of awaking people from the sleep of lies, and of destroying the market for Roman wares.

The phrases of the Bull met with very severe criticism from Valera, and the extravagance and licentiousness of the Papal See were treated with stinging satire and rebuke.

Valera continued active in his efforts for the publication of his Spanish Bible¹—a work in which he corrected Reina's translation, condensed the summaries, and excluded additions.

In 1596 his translation of the New Testament appeared, and in 1602 the whole Bible was published—but not until the Spanish Protestant communities had been annihilated by the storm of persecution.

¹ *La Biblia, segunda edición, revisada y corregida con los textos Hebreos y Griegos, y con diversas translaciones por Cipriano Valera, 1602.*

CHAPTER XIII

DEATH-BLOW TO SPANISH PROTESTANTISM

"IT is thought," said Luther, "that the Gospel might very well be preached without making an upset in the world. But this is impossible," said the Reformer, "as the doctrine of the Gospel is in direct antagonism to the opinions of the world, which it regards as poison from hell. For when I say that faith in Christ constitutes my sole strength and support, I mean that the world is dust and ashes to me. The doctrine of Christ cannot be in harmony with the teaching of the world. One of the two must fall."¹ They should recollect that Christ prophesied that Christians would be rejected by those who considered themselves God's

¹ Luther's *Evangelienauslegung. Ein Kommentar zu den vier Evangelien, aus seinen Werken gesammelt und bearbeitet von Ch. G. Eberle*, 1877.

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servants and saints. "This," continued Luther, "is a fearful saying, and one which must strike terror in the hearts of the pious. But such, in spite of the warning, is the case; and we see fulfilled the words, "Whoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service." And true it was that all who came under the bann of the Church were remorselessly put to death, and that not secretly, or as if the execution of the sentence were a deed of shame, but openly and publicly, as if it were the will of God that Christians should suffer and die as impious insurrectionists in league with the devil. The very people exclaimed, "Oh what a righteous and holy work has this Emperor done!" and *Te Deums* were sung as if the will of God had been fulfilled. Such a *Te Deum* was first sung in Valladolid when a congregation of Reformers was discovered as follows:—

In the street of the Goldsmiths, No. 13, there lived a goldsmith, Juan Garcia, a zealous frequenter of the house of Cazalla. His wife noticed that he frequently got up at night and went out. Full of suspicion, she once stole after him, and slipped unnoticed into the house,

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where the Protestant meeting was held. She revealed her discovery to her father confessor, through whom the intelligence soon reached high quarters. The Grand Inquisitor, Valdes, wished to ascertain how far the conspiracy had spread before making a raid on it, and with this object in view, he silently and cunningly spread his net of detection. Those who had taken part in the services, without being converted, were bidden to continue their attendance, and play the part of inquirers for the truth. They were to visit and converse with the speakers at the meetings, as if desirous of further information, and, where it was possible, they were to ask for written instructions on the plea of it being useful to others. By dint of such tactics, teachers and taught were easily tracked and discovered, without their having any suspicions that they would be seized and annihilated at one stroke. The leader of the plan explained his designs to the Emperor, but they were cut short before they were completed.

The Bishop of Zamora decreed, as usual, in his orders for Lent of 1558, that he was to be made acquainted with any notorious sins or heretical tendencies. Then Pedro de

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Sotelo and his wife said that Cristobal de Padilla had spoken in a questionable manner on matters of faith. The bishop soon had him imprisoned, but allowed him to receive visits and to conduct his correspondence, hoping by these means to come across his accomplices. Now was the time for Valdes to act. He cast into prison both the Cazallas, Pedro Sarmiento de Rojas, his wife, Frau Menchia de Figuerroa, Ana Enriquez, and many other people both in Valladolid and Toro. The frontiers and the ports were subjected to rigorous surveillance when it was heard that many of the heretics had taken flight.

Spies were as clever as Pedro Moro, who, when in the service of Hernando de Soto, the conqueror of Florida, could smell a fire three miles off, and by scent alone could track fugitive Indians through woods and caves.¹ Carlos de Seso and Domingo de Rojas had passports to France from the Viceroy of Navarre, and letters of recommendation to Johanna d'Albret, and the Mayor of Logroño was also of great assistance to them, but it was all in vain. Accompanied by an armed escort, they had quietly to return to Valla-

¹ Th. Irving, "The Conquest of Florida."

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dolid. Wherever they passed, people ran to see the heretics whom they would gladly have burnt there and then ; and Rojas thought he would have been murdered on the way by his own relations. Night alone was their protection against the rage of the people and the stones of the mob.

Pedro Cazalla's servant, Juan Sanchez of Astudillo, was the only one who escaped. He travelled eight miles from port to port before finally embarking with a Flemish merchant at Castro Urdiales. In letters to Catalina de Ortega, he said that "he was dying for news of the catastrophe, which was the work of the devil." However, he added, God be praised ! the enemy would be conquered, and in spite of present sufferings the elect would finally triumph, "for Christ," he said, "values His kingdom too highly to have given it to us in vain." With the faith of Abraham he would go forth into whatever country it might please God to send him, and if he should die upon the sea he would be contented, and grateful to the Almighty, for, as a Christian, he was ready to live or die in the strength of a living faith. He arrived safely in Flanders, but he was soon

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obliged to leave Turlingen and go back to Valladolid, where he found his brethren either in the overcrowded prisons, or (for want of room in the public jails) confined within their own houses, where, even if the supervision was strict, they had some chance of escape. The Emperor now saw the wish of his heart fulfilled — heresy in Spain had received its deathblow !

After a requiem for his relations, Charles asked Juan Regla, his father confessor, if he could not take part in the solemnisation of his own funeral, and so do for himself what would soon have to be done for him by others. The priest replied : “God grant that your Majesty may still have many years to live, and when the time does come, the service will be celebrated with due observance and respect.”

“But would it not be good for my soul?” asked the Emperor.

“Certainly,” was the reply, “good deeds are of greater efficacy in life than after death.”

Therefore, on August 30, the chapel of the monastery was draped in black, and the Imperial retinue of servants, dressed in mourning, stood with the monks around the catafalque,

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which was ablaze with lights. During the mass for souls, Charles, clad in black, stepped forward and handed the priest his candle as a sign of having resigned all earthly longings.

A few days later the Emperor died in the presence of Carranza.

In the archives at Simanca there is still to be seen a codicil which the mighty Emperor, who undoubtedly was a Saul of Tarsus, had signed with trembling hand a few days before his death. It contains a last injunction to Philip: "I entreat and conjure thee most earnestly, by thy duty to me as a father who has so tenderly loved thee, and by the obedience which is due to me as thy king, that thou shouldst esteem it of the greatest importance to quell and punish the heretics with promptitude and severity, without exception, and with disregard of petitions and with no respect of persons, for the Holy Office is to be honoured and respected, whereby the Lord will protect His kingdom, and give thee the victory over His enemies."

No dying request was ever given with a greater certainty of its fulfilment, or responded to with more complete appreciation and readiness.

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Philip's devotion to the Church must not be confounded with hypocrisy. It was with the deepest earnestness that he so often confessed, communicated, scourged himself, and craved absolution. His life was conducted according to the symbolism of the "Cult," which he understood like a theologian. He used to accompany the sacrament with bare head and feet. He considered the duty of protecting the Romish Church as one of the obligations involved in his royal oath, and he fully believed that Church to be all that she professed to be. Catholicism was interwoven by a thousand threads in all the political institutions of his kingdom, and so, when he saw it threatened by a heresy, which seemed likely to upheave social order, he had no choice in the matter.¹ Francisco de Aldana² summoned the king, "the sun of all Christian hearts," to arms. He told him that wherever he looked he might see the trail of the serpent. Pillaged cathedrals, altars, and damaged reliques were proof of

¹ *Papiers d'état du Cardinal de Granvelle, d'après les manuscrits de Besançon, par Ch. Weiss, 1847, p. 421.*

² N. Böhl de Faber, *Floresta de rimas antiguas castellanas, 1821, p. 180.*

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the errors that were being taught, and Philip, "the Atlas of Spain," was bound to take the sacred edifices of his kingdom under his royal protection, and, if so, the militant, triumphant Church would ever after sanctify and praise his name.

Philip willingly responded to this appeal, and vowed he would sacrifice everything to God and religion, or rather, as he should have said, to the Pope and the Church !

Philip then knelt down before the crucifix, and prayed to the Divine Ordainer of all things to keep him always in his present state of mind, and to strengthen his resolve never to be king of those who rejected Him, to whom he prayed, as their Lord. It was thus that he spoke of the heretics whom he considered had been too leniently treated by the late Emperor. He said he would rather lose all his states, and a hundred lives, than consent to any breach in the faith or its divine services. It was in vain that his sister Marguerite de Parma reminded him that the more kings imitated God's goodness and clemency, the greater and more godlike they were. "They shall pay dearly for heresy !" was all his reply.

CHAPTER XIV

THE INQUISITION

TORQUEMADA, as we know, wrote the laws of the Inquisition in blood. All declension from the Catholic faith was to be regarded as high treason against the State. It was to be visited with confiscation of property and imprisonment, or with death by fire, in the event of the accused being convicted of heresy. Ximenes, in his support of the Exchequer and the Crown, granted the Holy Office the favour of his patronage in order to intensify its catholic character ; and heresy came to be regarded by that Institution from so bigoted a standpoint, that death was considered its just punishment. Having thus entered into close confederacy with the Crown, the Inquisition became an ecclesiastical engine of the State, and the increase of its power was such that the nobility, clergy, people, Jews, "Maranen" (converted Jews),

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and heretics came completely under its dominion.¹

The organisation of the society was wonderful. Solemn forms, priestly judges, involved procedures, devices for entrapping guilty persons, varieties of torture, imprisonments, severe sentences, and bands of assistants from every class, combined to provide the elements with such a marvellous mechanism, and such a perfect discipline, that it was hardly possible to withstand it. So powerful a tribunal could afford to be hated when, according to Contarini, it was universally feared.

“Silence on the subject of the king and the Inquisition” (*Con el rey y con la Inquisición chitos!*). Never was a society so productive of fear—a fear which was the chief instrument of its efficacy. It has been said that if the Inquisition had not existed, Philip II. would have had to institute it. He was quite aware of its value as a support for his throne and for the suppression of all elements contrary to his system of government. Hence, for the increase of its power

¹ Ranke, *Die Osmanen und die Spanische Monarchie*, p. 280.

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as well as his own, he relegated all criminal matters to its jurisdiction. He was convinced that by these means alone he could be kept free from insurrections.

The French ambassador once complained to him of the inquisitorial treatment of some of the innocent French merchants who had been accused merely out of spite. The king replied in his soft, low tone, "The Inquisition acts irrespective of nationality or rank."¹

This society was the deathblow to the Lutherans in Spain, and the horror of a danger which was exaggerated by fear precipitated events. A warning against the consequences of this despotic power is given in the letter of Perez de Pineda to Philip II.² It was sent more as a protest against the consequences that might affect the present and future generations than with any hope of loosening the bond between the Inquisition and the crown. It describes the hardships of the Spanish Protestants, and eulogises Luther as an instrument of divine mercy. "Nobody," says the

¹ E. Alberi, *Le Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti*, i. vi. 1862, p. 411.

² *Suplicacion á la Magestad del Rey — Reformistas antiguos Españoles*, xii. 1857.

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writer, had ever before revealed in like manner to the world the meaning of Christ's atonement, whereby men might be saved. This holy man," he added, "was a cause for thanksgiving to the world; and Satan, therefore, from his hatred to the truth, had done what he could to oppose his teaching by forging lies and producing false witnesses." The Lutherans are not rebels," he said, "but subjects of Christ; not propagators of a new doctrine, but of the old apostolic truths. They did not bemoan the malignity manifested against themselves, but the blindness and consequent damnation of those enemies who set the Godhead of the Holy Trinity and the Apostles' Creed at naught! The Lutheran doctrine had been preached; but, instead of its being listened to, the Inquisitors seize upon the bishops like wolves, making the lives of Christians of no more account than those of sparrows sold at three for a farthing, and stigmatising as heresy the true knowledge of Christ and His Redemption and the right understanding of His Gospel. The king, therefore, should not allow the enemies of Christ to judge the witnesses for Christ. If he did, the

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Inquisition would rob him of his best subjects, and he would stand alone, without the large-hearted and loyal vassals who, by dint of virtue, knowledge, and the love and fear of God, would have been able to help him in framing a good and glorious code of laws." Juan Perez de Pineda thus dealt with the Inquisition in its inimical relation to the Government, but he only lightly touched upon the horrors of the prisons and the cruelty of the methods used by the so-called Holy Office. It is to the unknown Montes that we must look for information on that point. He certainly succeeded in partially disclosing the crafty artifices of the Holy Office. This he did in order to avenge the death of his brethren in the faith, and to repudiate the calumnies, whereby it was hoped to stain their memory. He also wrote for the purpose of warning those in danger, and of helping those who had fallen into the clutches of the dreaded institution.

The introduction to this book¹ describes the genesis of the organisation which the Fiscus (office of the Inquisition) enforced and

¹ *Inquisitores eos suis artibus perfidiæ ac defectionis infamarint.* Reginaldo Gonsalvio Montano, authore, 1567.

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rendered unassailable ; "but," says Montes, "it was as vain to try to stop heresy by death instead of God's Word, as it would be madness for a physician to try and cure a patient by poison."

Montes shows how the first thread of suspicion soon became woven into a rope thick enough to hang the suspected person : A man goes to the tribunal of the Inquisition, being invited hither by the intimation that there is something of importance to be related to him ; and on his arrival, he is asked whether he has anything on his conscience to reveal. If any remark is made, the judges look at each other in alarm, as if something dreadful had been disclosed, and, after sharp looks at the speaker, whisper one with another, with intent to confuse him. If, on the contrary, a man maintains that he has nothing to reveal, he is let go with an apology, to the effect that he is not the person they wanted. After some months the process is repeated. He has had converse, it is said, with suspected heretics, and must take care ; and then nothing would happen to him. But if not careful then, spies are put upon his track to watch what he says, where he goes, and with what

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people he consorts, and when the material is sufficient, then the accusation is made, the vicar or the bishop having been communicated with, so as to avoid any controversy as to jurisdiction. Then the die is cast, for if even a gnat escapes the Inquisition, the "familiars" (people in the employment of the Inquisition) are sure to get hold of him again! Portraits of the suspected persons are used in order to aid systems of espionage. The prisoner has to give up all his keys. An inventory is taken of everything in the house, and put under the care of an influential neighbour. Thus, in the event of the decree of confiscation, the Office can speedily appropriate the property. Abnegation of the Catholic faith, continues Montes, disqualifies a man from being a legal possessor of property, and by papal decree the king takes the proprietor's place.

In the narrow, dark, stinking dungeon the master of the prison visits the accused, and advises him to beg for a hearing as soon as possible, promising him every assistance in extricating himself from his difficulties. In pursuance of such counsel, he is told that confession and recantation will lead to his

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speedy release. With the object of making the accused betray himself, suspected points are assumed to be ascertained facts. If nothing be confessed, the inquiry is adjourned till torture has been tried ; or, if there be not sufficient evidence to justify the sentence, he has upon oath to make a confession of faith, and give a general account of his life.

Advocates were supposed to protect the accused against injustice when he was in the right, but as a matter of fact, these supporters were often nothing more than ordinary servants, and were, therefore, incapable of speaking for their clients. In an emergency the mule-driver of the Grand Inquisitor would serve very well as Counsel for the whole lot. The advocates were therefore frequently rather hindrances than helps. They certainly called attention to the time for defence in due legal form, but they took care to avoid pointing out to their clients the important things that told in their favour, and they never dared to consult with them save in the presence of the Inquisitors and the notary. The testimony of the witnesses was to the point, but it was reported without name or circumstances, so as to throw dust in the eyes

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of the defendant, and he thus had no power to repudiate false evidence. The accumulation of the evidence led to more people becoming involved in the matter, and thus the Court added to their victims. Favourable testimony was declined as being foreign to the case, but anything unfavourable, if only hearsay, was duly reported. Two hearsay retailers of news were deemed equal to one who described what he had seen, and one prison attendant was worth more than two eye-witnesses. These sufficed for accusation, as well as for condemnation. It had always in other courts been considered a legal right for the advocate to go through, with the accused, the evidence which was written down. In the case of the Inquisition this was not allowed. Above all, no mention was made as to who had said this or that. A persistence in denial only led to torture, for which purpose the victims had to go through many passages and rooms to the dark underground torture-chambers whence no sound could proceed.

There the bishop, the episcopal vicar, and the secretary sat behind a table, while the executioner stood ready for his work in black

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scanty apparel, and a hood which covered all his face but his eyes. It was declared to be the fault of the accused if his limbs should be torn or broken, for had he not only to confess? Then the unfortunate person being strung up, the weight on his feet was steadily increased until it brought him to the ground with dislocated and torn wrists. The operation was varied by exhortations to the heretic not to speak of Christ, but to confess; and meanwhile questions were addressed to the executioner as to whether the other instruments were ready, for if not, they were to be so by the morrow. What had been done was only a small beginning, and the truth must be extorted unless the heretic should prefer to die upon the rack. If a partial confession should ensue, the tortured creature was taken back to the Court for another hearing, through the severer torture-chambers, to show what might be in store for him. On the third day, when the pain in the dislocated limbs was at its worst, thin strong cords were tied round his arms and legs, and staves rammed in between so that the ropes cut right into the bone. Or else the heretic was bound into a coffin-shaped chest, with his

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mouth and nose tied up in a linen cloth. Then water was poured in until the wretched man was all but choked, and the cloth was dragged out of his mouth soaked in blood. Another plan was to place the prisoner with oiled feet on red-hot coals, and then ask him questions which involved so many points that one "yes" signified as many as ten answers.

If torture were ineffectual, other means were tried. The Inquisitor pretended to weep for pity and benevolence, and proceeded to give the prisoner counsel, such as he would give his father, brother, or dearest friend. So it would go on for weeks, while the Office was supposed to be seeking the thread whereby to bring secrets out of the labyrinth of difficulty, the suspected person becoming meanwhile more and more involved. The seal of confession was not without its use for the Inquisition. The father confessor would put certain questions on heresy to the sick prisoner. "There is nothing to fear," he would say, "for I have full power to absolve from all sins." In such a case, the one condition of absolution was the repetition of the confession to the Secretary of the Inquisition. If the accused should decline to do this, the point

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was still gained; for the father confessor had only to answer very loud, or repeat the replies audibly enough for the secretary behind the door to put them down, unless, indeed, he should prefer to break in on the confession, and tax the man with what he had said. If such a course of confession should prove a failure, a *mosca*¹ was sent to the prisoner, in the shape of a visitor purporting to be a brother of the faith. With words of concern and solicitude for his salvation, the supposed Protestant visitor might succeed in getting a good deal out of him. Monks frequently took the part of *moscas*, and from zeal to the Church, and for the extirpation of heresy, they even went from one dungeon to another, enduring the misery of prison life. A priest sometimes undertook this decoy work to avoid the suspicion of "sins of the flesh." Some who were suspected of heresy hoped to save their lives by this means. Common criminals played the part of eavesdroppers, listening to the heretics with whom they associated, and the *mosca* circulated lies beyond the prisons. It would, perhaps, be reported that a Lutheran

¹ The Spanish for "fly"—a name given to the spies of the Inquisition.

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of position had been incarcerated and tortured, that the very cries had been heard by such-and-such a person, and so his companions were advised that they had better give themselves up of their own free will, seeing that otherwise many of their names would be sure to come out.

The prisons of the Office were supposed to be better than the generality of prisons. But many of them were underground, and were only ventilated by a small round hole like an orange, or a narrow grated window.

Reckless of their money in the face of impending confiscation, people with means could live better at their own expense than on the allowed thirty *maravedis*¹ a day, which was deducted from the high sums they had to pay. The king made a grant of half a *real*² a day on behalf of the washing, food, and *pourboires* of the poorer prisoners. But it so decreased in its passage through the dishonest hands of the treasurer, caterer, cook, and jailer, that it only sufficed in the end to furnish black bread and water; and the poor wretched prisoners, deprived of their due, had to pay a heavy bill themselves. The

¹ A *maravedi*=1½d.

² A *real*=a shilling.

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pilfering, extortionate Gaspar Benavides sold the prisoners' food, and appropriated their washing-money, so that they had to be satisfied with dirty linen. Any prisoners who questioned his cruelty were thrown into an empty cistern, where they had to remain a whole day without food to eat, or straw to lie on. Those who were exposed to this punishment were thankful to return to their old cells. Pity for the prisoners made the old servant and young daughter of Benavides speak kindly to the inmates, as they passed the cell-doors, sometimes bringing them news of their brethren in the faith, and often managing to get them a little food which they saved from the master's pickings; but they were both arrested as aiders and abettors of heretics, and their labour of love was rewarded with two hundred lashes, a year's imprisonment, and ten years' banishment.

Pedro de Herrera secretly tempered the sentence of a mother and daughter in different cells under his care, by letting them see each other for half-an-hour every day. When on the rack they, in terror, betrayed his leniency, and begged on his behalf for mercy. But no; he was sentenced to two hundred lashes, to

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pass through the streets as a criminal, and to spend six years in the galleys. As he was being whipped round the second day, he sprang half mad from the ass, precipitated himself upon the executioner, and tore the whip from his hand with intent to kill him. The populace seized him, rebound him on the ass, and the flogging proceeded. The attempt on the life of the official increased his time in the galleys to ten years. Psalm-singing or quotations of the Scriptures, lest they might form a means of correspondence between brethren of the faith, were only allowed in whispers. A twelve-year-old English boy on board a ship, which, with its cargo, belonged to his rich father, was taken prisoner by one of the inspectors of the Inquisition for having a psalm-book in his hand, and he was incarcerated for six months. "That's a plucky little heretic!" said the overseer, when he heard him saying his morning and evening prayers, and singing the psalms. A baptized converted Jew was heard to say, with regard to Christian sins, that the law of the Father was better than that of Christ, whereupon the Inquisitor catechised him so closely and made him suffer so much cruelty and in-

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justice that he confessed in his cell that he was sorry he had ever been baptized. The prisoner had to be officially inspected twice a month. An Inquisitor, the secretary, and the governor of the prison formed the dreaded committee of inquiry. The prisoner was asked how he was? whether he wanted anything? whether the jailer treated him well or badly? and whether his food and washing were all right? In the summer these inspectors would ask if there were any complaints about bad beds and clothes? and in winter they would say, "It is certainly cold now, but there has been so much rain that it will soon be warm again. Only see that you have a warm covering for your soul by confessing the truth and easing your conscience before the Holy Tribunal." If a prisoner of cultivated mind should ask for books, or for a Bible, they would say, "The true book is to tell the truth, and to ease the conscience; use that diligently, and think of your misery, and you will not want any other occupation." If the request were repeated they would make the final remark, "You have the liberty to ask what you like, and we have the liberty to deny what we like."

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The Inquisitor in Seville took the Englishman Nicholas Burton prisoner because he had given vent to suspicious remarks in San Lucar de Barrameda and Seville. Not only was his own property confiscated, but also the goods of an English house of business of which he was the manager. The agent, John Fronton, came from Bristol bringing all the necessary documents for the reclamation of the property on behalf of the firm. The Inquisition demanded written communication by means of their advocate, who, sure of an income meanwhile of six reals a day, wrote at his leisure. The affair dragged on for a month. With English pertinacity, Fronton appealed twice a day for the completion of the business. At last other documents were declared necessary from England. They came, but they entailed so much work that four months more elapsed. The procurist kept spending money, so Fronton pressed on the matter, and was referred to the Bishop of Tarragona, who said he had no power to act without the co-operation of the other Inquisitors. Then came the news that the verdict was imminent, and that he could go and talk business with Burton in his prison.

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On his entrance to the cell he found nobody, and was taken captive himself and brought to trial after four days' incarceration. He was accused of being a heretic for merely saying the Creed, and the confiscation of the property of his firm was decreed. He had to recant, and endure a year's imprisonment. The Holy Office made a good thing out of this, for it thereby took possession of a finer ship than any in the kingdom of Granada.

The page of a Sevillian Inquisitor, whom the Bishop of Tarragona frequently visited, was playing one day with the three-year-old child of the gardener, and took away a reed-pipe from him. The cries of the child brought the father to his assistance. He asked for the reed-pipe back, and tried to take it by force from the boy. A dispute and struggle ensued, in which the page had his hand hurt by the reed-pipe. The gardener was put in irons for nine months, whilst his family endured hunger and need in his absence.

A priest made off with the wife of a day-labourer. Complaints to the Inquisition were in vain. One day the man had a discussion with his companion about purgatory, and the poor fellow said he considered he had had

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purgatory enough by being robbed of his wife by an insolent rogue. For this the man had to undergo two years' imprisonment, three years' surveillance, confiscation of goods, and the san-benito. The priest all the while retained possession of the wife.

A man who said it would be better if the money spent on Church festivals were given to poor women and children, was obliged to recant under suspicion of heresy.

A foreigner had lived for twenty years in Cadiz as a recluse. When the Inquisition promised grace by confession, he said that in Genoa twenty years before, he had heard a monk speak of justification through faith and purgatory, that it had not seemed a bad thing to him then, but that since then he had thought no more about it. The punishment for this remark was three months' incarceration, confiscation, and the san-benito.

A man from Acija said he could not believe that God was in the sacrament under the hands of a licentious priest. For this he had to endure a year's imprisonment, and had to recant.

A student copied four verses from an unknown author, which were so written that they could be interpreted either to the praise

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or blame, of Luther; but the student was condemned to a year's imprisonment, recantation, the process of an Auto, and banishment from Seville for three years. Another collegian had the like punishment for copying the same verses, save only that he paid a fine of a hundred ducats instead of being exiled.

One can understand Montes' indignation at such acts of injustice. Imprisonment in any case was never conducted in a just way, but the Holy Office was supposed to be an exception to the rule. Instead of that, torture, which was a common thing in criminal prisons, was increased tenfold when one was punished not as a prisoner, murderer, or robber, but merely for advocating justification by faith. The Inquisition was entirely responsible for the disaffection of the Spaniards to their faith and to their country.

Paul IV. instituted a highly-finished torture-chamber as a necessary instrument for powerful government. He authorised the Grand Inquisitor to hand over to the lay branch all dogmatic heretics, and those who only recanted out of fear. To defray the cost of these proceedings, he devoted the income of a canonry of each metropolitan

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and cathedral church, together with 100,000 ducats from the ecclesiastical exchequer. How little this royal Inquisition, so despotic in power and authority, paid any respect to the dignity of individuals, may be seen by the treatment of Carranza, the Primate of Spain.

Ximenes had a splendid winter refectory built for the Chapter of Toledo. The walls of the hall are decorated with pictures of the old archbishops; of Rodrigo who led armies, of Tenorio who built bridges, and of Fonseca, who founded the colleges of Tavera and Lorenzana, and hospitals and almshouses for the poor. The portrait of Bartolomé Carranza de Miranda has its place among them. And yet this Carranza was made a heretic in spite of himself, and was given by the Pope a prison and grave in Rome, in order to withdraw him from the resentment of Philip and of the Inquisition, and thus to put an end to a gigantic lawsuit which involved documents of 22 folios and over 20,000 pages.¹

¹ *Documentos referentes á la causa del Arzobispo D. Fr. B. Carranza de Miranda*—Florente, *Histoire critique de l'Inquisition*, iii.

CHAPTER XV

ARCHBISHOP BARTOLOMÉ DE CARRANZA

BARTOLOMÉ DE CARRANZA was born in 1503, in Miranda del rio Argo. In early years a young Dominican, he became a professor of theology at San Gregorio, where he distinguished himself as a theorist. During an epidemic and famine in Valladolid, he took the poor and sick into his house, and begged alms for them. As Imperial theologian at Trent, he was as strictly Catholic as it behoved one who worked on behalf of the Inquisition. His knowledge and eloquence were of much account; and when Queen Mary tried to reinstate the custom of Peter's pence for the good of the Mother Church (after the defalcation of that Church under a tyrant and a child) Carranza worked zealously in the cause of the royal wishes. He cleared the way for Cardinal Pole, he reclaimed churches and monastic property, and

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gave his support to the converts of the Dominican, Carthusian, and Benedictine orders. He often preached before the queen, the severe avenger of her mother and her Church. Obedient to the commands of his monarch in England, he took part in the bloody deeds of anti-Reformation, attending the martyrdoms of Cranmer and the Bishop of London. This black-robed friar, so hated by the Evangelists, had the body of the wife of Martyr Vermigli thrown out of her grave at Oxford, and the bones of the disinterred Butzer burnt at Cambridge, in order that the recovered colleges of England might not be contaminated with heretical dust. As for English Bibles and books, it was a repetition of the Fire edict of Trent. In Flanders he hunted out heretics, and destroyed their writings. In Louvain he disowned suspicious fugitive countrymen from Seville, who were distributing forbidden literature before the gates of the royal palace. It was at his instigation that the Augustine monk, Lorenzo de Villavicencio, went disguised to spy out heretics at the masses at Frankfort, and buy up their books to burn them. He presented to the king a list of fugitive Lutheran-Sevillans,

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whose writings were being circulated by agents in Germany, and from him the Inquisitors at Calahorra and Zaragosa obtained information about people suspected of heresy. He could thus certainly pride himself upon having done more for the extermination of heresy than any of his colleagues. Hence it was that in 1557, after the death of Siliceo, he was offered the archbishopric of Toledo. Three times he declined the honour, but at the last he was prevailed on to accept it. Paul IV., approving the choice of the man of his heart, dispensed with the formality of the usual inquiries, and in December he was nominated archbishop-designate by the papal consistory. The consecration of the archbishop took place at Brussels in the following May, and Cardinal Granvella officiated at the ceremony.

In his new dignity, Carranza urged the king to adopt the severest measures against the Netherlanders, and as a member of the Royal Council he carried out the same plan of action as that in vogue in Seville and Valladolid. He visited the Emperor at San Yuste as Philip's emissary, praying with the dying man, and performing the last rites.

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His work was stamped with the Pauline-Lutheran doctrine of Justification. It was free from the errors of scholasticism, and the diplomatic formulas of Trent. "Faith without works is dead," said Carranza, "because works are a sure sign of the existence of faith. Our good works are only of value when done for Christ's sake, and apart from Him they are of no account or worth. The Gospel, which God has given us in His Son, supports us in life, and that alone can comfort us at the hour of death. Christ's sufferings were full and sufficient salvation for all sins, God Himself is the Mediator, making His Son the propitiation for our sins. All our sins are laid on Him, and we are free." "Christ," wrote the priest, "loved me and died for me, that is my soul's greatest comfort; certain of this fact, the Christian fears neither devil nor sin. The chief instrument of Justification is faith, in which all other things concur. God has promised salvation through faith in Christ. For, as the body is dead without the soul, so is the soul dead without the Holy Spirit, being incapable by itself of a single Christian impulse." Carranza could neither see nor grant

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He then devoted eleven months to the visitation of his diocese in a conscientious single-minded spirit. He was ruthless in his severities towards unworthy priests, and was unflagging in the work of his office. He preached every Sunday. The archbishop seemed quite secure in his position, and thought he was one in mind with Cano, Soto, Valentin, Mendoza, &c. But this anti-Lutheran and heretic-exterminator was not quite pure in the eyes of the Inquisition.

He was already considered half an Erasmian; and as envy sharpens the power of criticism, Melchor Cano, the Grand Inquisitor, revengeful, proud, and hard, could not calmly see his rival's success. When Carranza was elected a "provincial," Cano tried in vain to have the election annulled in Rome, and thus began the long war between the two dignitaries. The gauntlet was finally thrown down in 1558, when Carranza published his expositions of the Christian Catechism at Antwerp.

It had already been whispered that the primate was contaminated by his acquaintance with heretical books, and by his association with people in England and Germany.

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that these truths were in opposition to the doctrine of Rome, and, unconscious of the progress he had made in Protestantism, deceived himself by the plea that he would not willingly side with any form of Lutheranism which was antagonistic to the Romish Church. The authority for his opinions he considered rather biblical than Lutheran.

But his opponents had made the matter quite clear to themselves. In his communication to the Grand Inquisitor, the Bishop of Cuenca called attention to Carranza's opinions concerning the Atonement of Christ, justification by faith, and the doctrine that good works were only necessary as a proof of faith. The book in question certainly did not point out the negative consequences of the thesis, and what was strictly Catholic was so interwoven with what was strictly Lutheran that confusion was inevitable. It could easily form subjects of dispute to either party.

An old private communication to Juan Valdes in Naples was produced, wherein Carranza asked the heretical lay preacher for a list of good publications for reading in San Gregorio. In his sermons many passages were discovered from Okolampad's Exposi-

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tion of the Prophets. His conduct at the Emperor's deathbed was also well looked into. The primate had frequently absolved Charles without confession, saying, "It is quite sufficient for your sins that you trust in Christ's atonement." Kneeling, he had raised the crucifix with the words, "That is what has atoned for all, now your sins are expiated and forgiven." Holding up a picture of the crucifixion to the dying man, he had said, "Look at Him who has suffered for our redemption." These Lutheranisms tallied with his Catechism sentences, and with his remark to Fernando de Sotelo, that when he came to die, he would send for a notary to attest his belief in Christ's atonement, apart from any act of his own.

The Marquesa de Alcanizes, a penitent of Carranza's, had to try and recollect any suspicious expressions of the prelate. The sermons in London were pronounced Lutheran, and his letters on private matters to Pedro Cazalla and to Herrera had a touch of heresy in them. From such sources did the Grand Inquisitor draw up a case against his rival.

Pedro Guerrero, the Bishop of Almeria, and the Bishop of Leo declared that Carranza's

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Exposition of the Catechism was Lutheran, and thus began the long, tedious inquiry on the orthodoxy of the archbishop, involving questions as to the retention of his episcopate.

Cano brought forward one hundred and forty-one sentences of the Catechism which he represented as aggressive, dangerous, and heretical.

Carranza tried to get permission to conduct his own case.

Philip was provisionally neutral, without putting any check on the Office, to which a papal bull gave full power to act. The fiscal¹ decreed imprisonment and confiscation of property, because the archbishop had preached and written many Lutheran heresies.

To avoid a scandal in the execution of the sentence, the king's sister sent for the archbishop from Toledo to Valladolid on the pretence of business of importance; and on the road at Torrelaguna the archbishop was taken prisoner by the Inquisition, a watch of eighteen armed "familiars"² having been stationed at the door of the inn at which the archbishop had alighted.

¹ An act of the Inquisition.

² Officers of the Inquisition.

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"Who knocks?" asked a servant.

"Open to the Holy Office!" was the reply.

"Is Diego Ramirez there?" asked Carranza, and the Inquisitor entered. At the foot of the bed, in which lay the prelate supporting his elbow on the pillow, Diego knelt and spoke with tears—

"May it please your most reverend Grace to give me your hand in pardon, for I have to do something which is much against my will, as your most reverend Grace can see in my face."

Then the Inquisitor continued, "Honoured sir, I have orders to arrest you in name of the Holy Office."

"Have you the requisite authority?" asked the archbishop, without changing colour or moving a muscle.

Then drawing forth a document, Ramirez returned, "That will convince your most reverend Grace," and handed him the bull of Paul IV.

The archbishop's retinue stood silently weeping as the officials of the Holy Office proceeded in their task. It was like death to those who had to take their primate prisoner. Ramirez took possession of his per-

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sonal property, which consisted of a writing case and a box full of letters and papers. He made an inventory of everything, and told the dismissed servants not to set foot in Valladolid again. At midnight Carranza rode forth, escorted by forty outriders and twenty "familiars," with Ramirez and Castro on either side of him. Thus he entered the new prison, where he was allowed two rooms, a corridor, his own furniture, a page, and five servants.

Then commenced the monster lawsuit. The first inquiry into the case lasted two years; and the primate must have daily felt that he was in the hands of the stronger party, for gradually the governor of the prison, Diego Gonzalez, made his life a burden to him. He had the windows so barred that they hardly admitted light or air, and kept him guarded not only by men, but also by arms and dogs. He had the table laid with sheets, the food dished on broken plates, and the fruit served on an old book-cover, in a wretched room. His former friend Mendoza¹ took an especially active part against him.

¹ Carranza's *Summa Conciliorum* was dedicated to Mendoza.

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Alfonso Valdes so influenced the king that he came to regard his former favourite as a double-faced hypocrite and heretic. When the Council of the Index did not condemn Carranza's Catechism, it affected the question as to whether literature that was allowed elsewhere, might not also be permitted in Spain. For the king told the Council of Trent that the idea of his not having despotic power in prohibiting books would be insupportable to him. Works allowed in one country might be most pernicious in another, and so he took his stand on the insufficiency of the Index as applied to Spain, and withheld Pius IV. on the point.

When the priesthood decided to ask the Pope to force the king and the Inquisition to have the case sent to Rome, it became a question not only of disputed power between the Grand Inquisitor and primate, the king and episcopacy, conscious and unconscious Lutheranism, but also a question affecting the influence of Philip in the Council, and betokening a struggle between royal and papal power. Philip, who kissed the hands of the monks, would have them hanged in case of disobedience, and asserted his power in the Inquisition, maintaining the supremacy of the

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Office over all Spaniards without exception in the case of heresy. The See took its stand on ecclesiastical power, according to which it was not the king, but the Pope, who should be the supreme judge of an archbishop. Carranza and the *procés* were finally summoned to Rome by Pius V., and the Grand Inquisitor was ordered to give up the case. Philip, enraged at this defeat, withstood the blow aimed against his power, for he was a stanch supporter of Valdes. A conflict seemed imminent, and the Grand Inquisitor did not resign in favour of Diego de Espinosa, until the Pope threatened to put Spain under an interdict.

After an imprisonment of six years, the primate left Valladolid on 5th December 1566. Accompanied by the Inquisitor Gonzalez, he travelled in a sedan chair to Cartagena, where he embarked, and he and his "Acts" were seen off by councillors, fiscals, secretaries, Azpilcueta Delgado, Diego de Simancas, and many others. The ambassador Luis de Requesens received the prisoner at Civita Vecchia, and on 29th May 1566 he was handed over to the papal officers, by whom he was taken to the Castle of St. Angelo, where he was visited by Cespedes.

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Pius deputed fifteen "consultors" to inquire into the case, among whom were the Cardinals Reinoso, Pacheco, Gamboyo, Chiesa, and the Bishop of Santa Agata Peretti. The Spaniards, Simancas, the Bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo, Pedro Fernandez, Temino, afterwards Bishop of Leon, and Rodrigo de Vadillo, were angry at having to sit behind the cardinals, where they had seats without backs, and where, only when they were quite exhausted, did they dare to lean against a wall. The Committee sat every week, sometimes for three hours, and Pius was always present. The translation of the "Acts" took up a whole year. Then some parts were found to be missing, and had to be sent for from Spain. This took as much time as sending for the books and manuscripts of Carranza, and when the documents did arrive they were all in confusion, and much that was important was missing.

At last, on April 14, 1576, Gregory XIII., the successor of Pius V., formally gave a sentence of judgment which disappointed all the hopes which Pius V. had raised in the minds of the prisoner and his friends. Carranza was said to have imbibed the doctrine of the con-

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demned heretics, Luther, Melancthon, and Okolampad, and to have adopted many of the errors, forms, and expressions which had been used by them in the statement of their tenets. He was, therefore, convicted of heresy, for all the legal lore, brought to bear by Azpilcueta, could not reason away the Protestant doctrines of Carranza's *Catechism*.

The papal decree obliged the archbishop to forswear sixteen articles of Protestant faith, he was to be suspended five years from office, he was to visit the seven churches of Rome, assist at certain masses, and his condemned Catechism was forbidden in all languages.

The archbishop heard the sentence with tears, and died less than three weeks later at the monastery of Minerva, receiving the absolution sent by Pope Gregory, and recanting in presence of several Spaniards and Italians.

There can be no doubt as to the intrinsic integrity of his last confession, but self-deception and confusion of ideas are apparent throughout it.

CHAPTER XVI

AUTOS-DA-FÉ IN VALLADOLID, SEVILLE, AND TOLEDO

THERE is a great lack of information with reference to the little evangelical circles of Valladolid and Seville, and particulars are wanting as to some obscure points concerning the recantations that there took place. Montes does not give sufficient details to solve the psychological problems. One must mention that all who came under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition were bound over to silence as to all that they had seen, heard, said, experienced, or suffered, so that nothing could be reported concerning the Inquisitors, advocates, familiars, servants, jailers, cells, prisons, racks, or trials. No information in the shape either of written or verbal accounts was allowed. Hence the official reports of the *autos-da-fé* are the only source of information.

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No doubt many accounts of recantations were mere fabrications. Anyhow, even an Inquisitor could not think that the Lutherans only simulated their opinions and convictions, and that this simulation was revealed by the recantation. One does not simulate in order to be tortured and burnt, and undoubtedly the conversions due to the doctrine of salvation were *bona-fide*. But we know from the words of our Lord that even "they who have received the seed of the word of truth with gladness fall away when affliction or persecution ariseth."

The storm of persecution was too violent for the new roots of doctrine. Where they had taken deeper hold upon the soil, they were not torn up without a struggle; but fear, the rack, and the instruments of torture were weapons too powerful to be withheld. As Luther said, "When they see that all the world hates the faithful, and those who call themselves the true Church, is it a wonder that they are tempted either to doubt, or to deny that faith and doctrine are true? When tortured and worried, they are tempted to think, 'I shall at any rate have peace if I think like other people!'"

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The hope of saving one's life, and escaping a fearful death by fire, is enough to tame any one's courage as a martyr, and to weaken any one's hold of faith. We have not been allowed to know what means were used to enforce a recantation, nor how long, or with what energy resistance was attempted, nor with what means it was at last overcome.

Death agonies in flames often resulted in recantation of the lips, but not of the heart; and we have no clear account as to the particulars of recantation in the official reports, where there is only mention of certain clauses, expressions, &c.

In view of the misery wrought in the conquest of Spanish Protestantism, Juan Perez de Pineda draws a picture of the comfort afforded by the Creator to those who did not fall away in time of temptation: "By suffering they became one with the Head of the Church. By His strength, our weakness is made strong; by His wisdom, our ignorance is counteracted; by His righteousness, our wickedness is atoned; by His light, our darkness is lightened; by His blessing, our curse is expiated. We are sanctified by His holiness, we are made rich by His

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grace. Excommunications and condemnations are of no avail. God has absolved the believers in Christ, and has made them partake of His kingdom, of which no confiscations can rob them. If their bodies are taken prisoners, their hearts are free in the love of Christ. They may be burnt or killed, but immortal life still remains. God in His love permits persecutions so that we may be purified from all sin, and thus recollect His solemn warning against backsliding. Confessors of the truth must wear the san-benito. It shows that God knows His own, however much the world may misconstrue them. For as Christ was clad in the garments of shame in life, He still lives in those who bear shame and disgrace for His sake." Perez speaks with compassion of the sufferings of the prisoners. "Robbers, murderers, and sacrilegists have people to speak for them. They are visited, and mercy is shown to them. They are helped, comforted, and supported. But when the children of God are thrown into prison they are seen by nobody, and nobody speaks kindly or sympathetically to them. Always alone, and separated from each other, they are treated with more than Turkish cruelty.

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At the trials the judges are as fierce as lions, trying to catch them in their words, and to induce them to make matters worse than they are. Nevertheless your long unkempt beards, your torn neglected clothing, the cords with which you are bound, are all, under God's grace, instruments for the testimony of the glory and honour of Christ, to whose truth and justice you gladly witness.” The author refers his readers to the martyrdoms of Agatha, Vincentius, and Ignatius as encouragements to scorn the fear of death. “ We have seen men go to the stake, when they have testified to the truth of the Gospel, as cheerfully as if they were going to a festival. We have seen women and girls go as joyfully to their martyrdom as if they were going to their marriages with the first princes or nobles in the land. Yes—even to death by fire ! If hell cannot prevail against us, what harm can the fire do us ? Only let us keep from the service of Baal, whereby we should lose sight of the Cross.”¹

¹ Juan Perez de Pineda, *Epistola para consolar á los fieles de Jesu Christo, que padicen persecucion para la confesion de su nombre, 1560.* *Reformistas antiguos Espanoles,* ii. 1848.

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The scenes of recantation which the Catholics thought so much of took place in Valladolid. Dr. Cazalla was the first instance of weakness and want of faith under torture.

When Herrezuelo saw the first signs of weakness in his fellow-prisoner, he said as he was being taken away, "Doctor, doctor, now is the time for courage, more than ever it was!"

Seso also wavered at first and tried to save himself by prevarications; but at last he did honour to the truth, and made a bold declaration of his faith in justification through Christ. He subsequently refused to suffer death by hanging instead of by fire, which after the denial of his faith he considered a fitting death.

Juan Gonzalez, another martyr for the truth of Protestantism, was firm in his defence of that for which he suffered, and, despite the tortures of the rack, declined to give the names of others who shared his opinions. The certainty of death seemed to give new courage to the intimidated Garcí-Arias, the propagator of Protestantism in his monastery of San Isidro in Seville.

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The Jeronomite Morcillo encouraged Fernando de San Juan¹ to keep firm. Maria Bohorques was put upon the rack because she would not save even her sister by lies. Dominicans and Jesuits tried to turn her, but she knew in Whom she believed, and feared Him more than men.

The sisters of Juan Gonzalez were as brave as their brother in silence and in speech.

Juan Ponce de Leon, at whose house in Seville the Protestant meetings had been held, was imprisoned for months. Weakened by adversity and tempted by priests, who, under pretence of friendship, implored him to give in, he at last signed a recantation. On hearing his sentence of death he cancelled his recantation and repeated his confession of faith, declining to confess to a priest. The Office replied by excommunicating him as a Lutheran heretic, apostate, follower of the sect of Luther, and as one who had taken part in secret assemblies against the Holy Catholic Faith.

The Office had never lost sight of Dr. Constantino Ponce de la Fuente. He was

¹ As Professor at the Theological College in Seville, he had inculcated Lutheran opinions.

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frequently summoned to explain equivocal passages in his sermons. His friends asked him what took him to the Triana. "They want to burn me," was the reply, "but they find me still too green." Francisco de Borja once heard him preach, and the sharp intelligence of the Jesuit soon detected the signs of unorthodoxy under the brilliant eloquence of the preacher. He criticised the sermon by quoting the line of the *Aeneid*, "Trust not the horse, O Trojans!" and the turn of affairs in Seville occasioned him grave anxiety. The struggle had already commenced when Hernando Ponce de Leon, whose widow was subsequently condemned as a Lutheran, bequeathed a house to some of the Jesuit Fathers, and many Lutheran manuscripts thus fell into the hands of the order.

Constantino preached against the asceticism which Loyola introduced, and which he practised as an antidote to the sufficiency of faith, maintaining that great mortification was necessary for the fulfilment of the Law.

The Doctor also laid stress on the necessity of prayer and purity of life, and he ventured to attack the doctrine of the founder of the order on the ground of false mysticism.

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He went so far as to call the propagators of such doctrine false prophets, who tried to deceive the world with their pious manners and cadaverous faces. The polemic was so piquant and drastic, that it was the talk of all Seville, and other preachers took up the theme with additional improvements. One evening, the Jesuit Bautista heard Fuente preach, and when he had finished, he went up into the same pulpit and delivered a contradictory address, which was not without its effect, for it began to be whispered that Fuente was a heretic.

The proofs of the fact were now in the hands of the Office in the form of writings discovered in Fuente's house whilst he was under arrest, and the prisoner was not long left in ignorance of the state of affairs. It is sad to relate that he tried to deny his own handwriting. At last, seeing that there was no help for him, he said, "Yes, I wrote it all, and it contains my full convictions. You need not seek for further proofs; do with me what you think right." He was condemned to two years' imprisonment in a dungeon. He caught a chill and died in fourteen days. His fellow-prisoner, Fer-

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nando, a monk of San Isidro, closed Constantino's eyes in the summer of 1560. The report that he opened one of his veins with a piece of wine-glass, or that he cut his throat, is not confirmed by any official statement.

The *Siete Partidas*¹ decreed that not only were the heretic preachers to be burnt, but that their followers should also be brought to the stake. Thus the actions against the Lutherans, involving their freedom, honour, property, and lives, culminated in the *autos-da-fé*.

The first was held in Valladolid on 20th May 1559. The Plaza Mayor is the great square where Alvaro de Luna was executed, and where Charles V. from his throne granted pardon to the vanquished Comuneros.

There a great scaffold was erected, in the form of a V. Its front faced the courthouse, and its back was towards the monastery of San Francisco. Two desks faced each other, one for the preacher of the occasion, the other for the deliverance of the sentences. A lower triangular scaffold was erected for the accommodation of the inquisitorial officials. The courthouse was at the

¹ Laws of Castile.

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disposal of the Court and the grandees. Two hundred galleries were provided for the populace, who thronged the town and pressed for places. Seats were sold at high prices, and thousands swarmed on the roofs and at the windows. Everybody over fourteen years of age was to appear, and forty days' indulgence was the reward for attendance. It was considered good to see the Church mourn, and condemn and sentence her disobedient children.

The spectators, in order to make sure of good places, arrived when it was dark, and awaited the dawn by torchlight. Masses in church and cloisters commenced at one o'clock. The Regent Joanna appeared at five o'clock, clad in black serge, with a long crape veil borne by Garcia de Toledo and Montesa, and the Princess carried a black fan in her white-gloved hand. Don Carlos stood near her, looking white, weak, and worn. He wore serge and velvet, a cloth baretta, sword, and gloves. The suite of their Highnesses appeared in the dress of the order of the Golden Fleece. The Constable of Castile, the Admiral, the Marquis of Astorga and Denia, the Counts of Miranda, Andreda, Monteagudo, Modica, the Duke of Lerma, and the tutor of the Prince Garcia of

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Toledo were in attendance. Then came the Archbishops of San Jago and Seville, the Bishops of Palencia and Ciudad Rodrigo, the Councillors of Castile, the grandees, and the ladies of the court in mourning. Two marshals with golden staves, and four heralds in red velvet embroidered with the royal arms completed the procession. When their Highnesses, preceded by the Count of Buendia with a drawn sword, had taken their places under the canopy of gold and silver, the retinue ranged itself about them. Buendia stood in front of them, the prelates and Inquisitors beside them, and the grandees of high and low degree seated behind them.

A banner of crimson velvet, headed by a glittering golden cross, followed by a second embroidered with the royal arms, and surmounted by a cross to show the union between the crown and the Inquisition, came in sight. Then the fiscal, with the banner of the Holy Office, preceded the procession of the Lutherans. Those who had been condemned to punishment were informed of the ordeal the previous night. Each one who had sentence of death was put in a separate cell, where a monk told him of the fact, and

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admonished him to confess. "Familiars" and servants went in the early dawn to clothe them with the san-benito, new ropes were put round their necks, their hands were bound crossways, and the preparation also comprised a repast of roast fowl. The procession of Protestants was preceded by a choir of boys singing *Ora pro illis*. Thirty recanters followed, coatless, and with bare heads, carrying candles and green crosses as signs of grace. Each of those condemned to death walked between two monks.

Then the town council, with its officials and noblemen, preceded the clergy, the dignitaries of the Chapter, and the monks. Sixty "familiars" walked in the procession. After all had taken their places, Melchor Cano, the Bishop of the Canaries, went up into the pulpit, before which stood the flower-decked cross of the parish of San Salvador, and preached for an hour from Matt. vii. 15, "Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves." After the "amen," the Grand Inquisitor Valdes, the Inquisitor Francisco Vaca, and a secretary, approached their Highnesses to make them take an oath on

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the picture of the Crucifixion in the Missal, that they would defend with their power and life the Catholic faith as it was embodied in the holy apostolic Romish Mother Church, and exterminate all heretics.

A clerk then called upon all present to swear that they would live and die in the Romish Church, and that with their goods, and body, and life, they would support it against all enemies ; that they would repudiate and deny whatever was contrary to the Roman Catholic doctrine ; and that they would maintain and defend the Office and its officials. Many thousand voices crying “ Yes ! we swear,” then filled the air, as they all sank upon their knees. After this manifestation, in which those who took part felt that they were the Elect of the Catholic faith, the execution of justice commenced, in discharging which, the judges seemed very like “the wolves in sheep’s clothing” of the text. The sentences were read. The procession of those condemned to death was headed by Dr. Agustin Cazalla, the supporter and defender of the Lutheran sect. His fate was shared by his brother Francisco and his sister Beatrix de Vibora, Alonso

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Perez, a cleric from Palencia, Juan Garcia, the goldsmith of Valladolid, Cristobal de Ocampo from Zamora, Cristobal de Padilla from Zamora, Licentiate Herrezuelo from Toro, Catalina Roman, Isabel de Estrada, Juan Velasquez, Catalina de Ortega, and Licentiate Herrera. Cazalla's other brother, Juan de Vibora, and his sister Constanza, widow of Hernando Ortez, and mother of thirteen children, were both condemned to lifelong imprisonment in the garb of the san-benito. Francisca de Zuñiga, and Mencía de Figueroa, wife of Pedro Sarmiento de Rojas, Knight of the Order of Santiago, were condemned to a term of imprisonment, and they had to wear the san-benito for the rest of their lives. Juan de Ulloa Pereyra, Knight of the Order of San Juan de Jerusalem, lost his rank and property. In 1564 he was exempted from the rest of his punishment, delivered from the san-benito, and then, in consideration of the services he rendered to Christendom in the expedition against the pirates off Malta, was reinstated by the Pope. Juana de Silva, wife of Juan de Vibora, Leonor de Toro, the Minguez, and Daniel de la Quadra lost their property and

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were condemned to a term of imprisonment with the san-benito. Antonio Asil, page of the Marquis of Poza, was ordered to wear the san-benito the rest of his life. Pedro de Sarmiento was commanded to abjure silk, jewels, gold, and silver, and to be perpetually clad in the san-benito. He was to keep no horses, and was to attend mass every Sunday, communicating three times a year. Antonio Dominguez de Pedrosa was doomed to suffer confiscation of property and three years' imprisonment. Luis de Rojas, son and heir of the Marquis of Poza, young in years but advanced in Lutheranism, lost his rank and was banished from the court. Ana Enriquez, married to Juan Alonso de Fonseca, was compelled to don the san-benito, and stand on the scaffold with a candle in her hand. She had to fast three days, and return to the prison in the penitential garb—then she was to be free. The daughter of the Marquis of Poza, a nun of Santa Catalina de Siena, had to wear the san-benito and carry a candle during the *auto-da-fé*, and she had to sit in a penitential posture in the convent. The sentences of life-long san-benitos and imprisonment could be modified by the purchase of exemptions from

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those who had the king's authority to sell them. The list of sentences was concluded by the order for the disinterment of the bones of the mother of so many heretics, Leonor de Vibora, and the burning of the coffin which bore her picture. Her property was confiscated, and the house where the conventicles had been held was to be pulled down. A marble monument was to be erected on the spot as a warning to posterity. At the mention of the name of Sarmiento, his uncle, the admiral, turned his back upon him. The ladies-in-waiting did the same at the sentence on his wife, their former Court companion; whilst the Regent bowed her head, and, deeply moved, kept her fan before her eyes. Ana Enriquez excited sympathy by her beauty, distress, and misfortune. The Archbishop of Seville absolved the pardoned prisoners in canonical form. The Bishop of Palencia, dressed in black serge, with the white mitre on his head, and the cross in his hand, had to unfrock the condemned priests, which must have been a fearful ceremony. Clad in mourning garb, these priests knelt before him. He took the chalice from them, and they had to resign their insignia of office,

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until they were only left with the san-benito. Their lips, head, and hands were symbolically deprived of the gifts of consecration, and the pointed cap of the san-benito was placed upon their bald bare heads. The prelate wept as he performed the office on Dr. Cazalla.

At four o'clock in the afternoon the first *auto-da-fé* patronised by royalty came to an end, and the horror, mourning, and pity which it occasioned struck terror into the hearts of the spectators. It is quite a mistake to think that the executions took place in the midst of the assembly; but of course many people went to the place of execution at the Puerta del Campo. Whilst those condemned to punishment were taken back to the convents, and to the prisons of the court and Inquisition, those sentenced to death were attended by guards, officials, and monks, to the place of execution. When Cazalla mounted the scaffold he begged for the blessing of the Archbishop of San Jago, and took leave of his sister.

The beautiful Beatrix de Vibora and Cristobal de Ocampo were first strangled. Cazalla, who had publicly confessed his am-

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bitious designs of being a second Luther, whose followers would be called Cazallists, sat upon the block with the cap in his hand. "That is the mitre," he said, "which their Majesties should have given me, the reward of those who spend their youth in the service of the world and the devil." Then he cast himself upon the ground, kissed the crucifix, saying, "This must release me from Satan's bondage. Now I hope God will be merciful to my soul. Come on, my brother!" he said to the executioner, as he put the iron ring round him. Then he kissed the crucifix, and died after saying, "I believe, I believe." The body of the strangled man was subsequently burnt. His glance and features testifying to the power of his faith, and his mouth shut by a gag, Herrezuelo ended his life in the flames.

The absence of the king from the first *auto-da-fé* detracted from its full splendour. But on October 8, 1559, Philip II.¹ took part in the second, at Valladolid. He had just returned from the Netherlands, and a shipwreck had cost him all the furniture, carpets, collections, pictures, statues, and gems of Charles V.

¹ *Don Carlos*, by Gachard, ii. p. 54.

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Some of the condemned heretics were kept back in order to gratify the king by a spectacle so after his own heart.¹ Although Philip's household was generally conducted on the economical principles of a poor nobleman, no pomp was spared on this occasion. He was accompanied by Don Carlos, Princess Juana, the highest dignitaries of the kingdom, and the court all bedecked with orders and jewels. The Count of Oropesa went first as a sword-bearer. After the sermon by the Archbishop of Cuenca, the king took the oath according to the aforesaid form of Valdes, swearing to support the Catholic faith and the Christian religion, to assist the Inquisition, and to be one with the Church with all its proceedings against heretics, apostates, and all who were opposed to the workings of the Holy Office. Philip's oath was said to be taken in the presence of 200,000 witnesses. Those who were condemned to death were Seso, Rojas, Pedro Cazalla, Juan Sanchez, Pedro Sotelo, Francisco de Almorza, Licentiate Domingo Sanchez, priests and followers of Seso the "scholar." Eufrosina Rios, the Cistercian of the Convent of

¹ Prescott, "History of Philip II.," i. p. 246.

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Belen, Catalina de Reinoso, daughter of the Señor de Astudillo de Campos, sister of the Bishop of Cordova, Margarite de Santisteban, Marina de Guevara, and Maria de Miranda, all beautiful nuns of the same convent, had also to die. The family interceded for Marina, as she was a near relation of the Bishop of Mondoñedo, and the Grand Inquisitor would have been willing to save her, but the convert would not make the necessary recantations, and all the preaching of the Jesuits and Dominicans in the prison could not rob her of her martyr's crown. Juana Sanchez, who cut her throat with the scissors in prison, and who had died some days later without confession, was burnt in effigy with her corpse. Isabel de Castille, the wife of Seso, was sentenced to lifelong imprisonment with the san-benito. The Cistercian nuns, Francisca de Zuñiga, Felipa de Heredia, and Catalina de Alcaraz of Belen, may be said to have forfeited their lives in the convent, being condemned to lifelong imprisonment with the garb of the san-benito.

Philip is reported to have said to Seso, who begged to be burnt instead of being

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hanged, "I would carry the wood to burn my own son if he were as bad as you."

Rojas had permission to speak to the king in case he wished to recant. Then he said, "If according to public opinion I am a heretic, it is because I believe in Almighty God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. I believe in the efficacy of Christ's sufferings for the salvation of the world and for the justification of the soul before God, and in this faith I hope to become holy."

After this good confession he was silenced by a blow on the mouth, and taken off under escort of more than a hundred brothers of the order, who, in spite of his repeated noes, continually tried to change his opinions.

He was strangled, like Cazalla, after saying, "Now let me have the anguish that you have prepared for me!"

Juan Sanchez, the long-sought-for fugitive, whose existence was supposed to endanger the peace of the kingdom, tore himself, half-burnt, from one stake to another, and shrieked for mercy. The monks ran near, and begged him to recant. Then Sanchez, looking at the fire and repenting his momentary weakness, sprang into the flames. As the funeral pile burned

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down, and the flames died out, Lutheranism came to an end in Valladolid, having numbered many important people among its followers, and having given many instances of courage in those who preferred to face death rather than deny their faith. The last instance of such fortitude was Leonor de Cisneros, wife of Herrezuelo, who died at the stake on 26th September 1568.

In Seville, the Bishop of Tarragona fixed the *auto-da-fé* on the 24th September 1559, in the Great Square.

Four archbishops were present, and the Royal Court of Chief Justice, the Cathedral Chapter, and the rest of the clergy, with many of the grandees and knights, the Duchess of Bejor, and many ladies of high degree also took part in the ceremony. The Quemadero, a high-walled space adorned with statues of the four Apostles, was on the Prado of San Sebastian, outside the town. Here the Prior Garcia-Arias of San Isidro, with his four monks, Cristobal de Avellano, Juan Crisóstomo, Juan de Leon, and Cassiodoro, met their end. The prior, quite undaunted, walked, leaning on his stick, to the stake. Cristoforo de Lozada disputed at the funeral pile in elegant Latin.

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Juan Gonzalez, in front of the stake, exhorted his sister to courage when the gag was taken from his mouth. Juan Ponce de Leon had wavered and begged Maria Bohorques to recant, and not to listen to Cassiodoro, but she rebuked his instability. Although he did not believe in confession, he consented to it for the sake of escaping the flames, and Morcillo, the monk of San Isidro, did the same at the last moment. Leon's son had to forfeit the title of Count of Baile, which went to another branch of the family. Isabel de Baena, Maria de Virues, Maria Coronel, and Maria Bohorques were first strangled and then burnt, with twenty others. Francisco de Zafra was burnt in effigy. The house of Baena was pulled down, and the place of the martyred rich Doña was marked by a sort of gallows.

The final *auto-da-fé* of December 22, 1560, put an end to either the lives or the faith of the rest of the imprisoned Lutherans. Death was the fate of fourteen; imprisonment with confiscation of property was the punishment of thirty-four, and four made their peace with the Church. Among the first lot we find Julianillo Hernandez, Nicolas Burton, the

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lay-brother of San Isidro, Juan Sastre, Francisca de Chaves, Ana de Ribera, the widow of Hernando de San Juan, the wife of the Alguacil Francisco Duran, Francisca Ruiz, the widow of the apothecary of Lepe, Hernan Nuñez, Maria Gomez, the once mad informer of Zafra,¹ her sister Leonor Nuñez, wife of a doctor, her daughters Leonor, Teresa, and Lucia, and the nuns of Santa Isabel. Amongst the second class were Ponce de Leon, Maria and Luisa Manuel, the monks of San Isidro, Lopez de Tendilla, Bernardino Valdes from Guadalajara, Domingo Churricca from Ascertia, Gaspar de Porres from Seville, Bernardo de San Geronimo from Burgos, &c.

After having been exposed to sufferings which caused her death, Juana Bohorques was pronounced innocent.² Her sister had been made to confess upon the rack that she had talked with her about evangelical truths. At first she was not so badly treated, but fifteen days after the birth of a child, she was again imprisoned, and was

¹ During her madness her betrayal of Zafra and his followers led to 800 persons being taken to the Triana.

² Menendez, *Reformistas Españoles*, ii. p. 449.

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put under the care of a fellow-prisoner, but she was unable to help her, for she herself had just been brought out of the torture-chamber.

To return to our Protestant colporteur, mentioned in Chapter XI. We hear that he was captured by emissaries of the Inquisition in the Sierras de Cordova, and that his zeal for the propagation of the Gospel was punished by three years' imprisonment. It was thought that tortures of body and mind would quell his valiant spirit, but his opponents had not counted on his sense of support in the Truth, and he disappointed the hopes entertained by his persecutors that he would be crushed by his miseries.

He was endowed with such eloquence and wisdom that, to use the Spanish proverb, "A word from his mouth was as weighty as a stone from a sling" ("Palabra de boca, piedra de honda"). He seemed to rejoice in being able to suffer for Christ's sake, and when he frequently passed under the prison windows of his brethren in the faith, on his return from the inquisitorial court of inquiry, he showed his friends that he was

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still of a good courage by cheerfully singing the doggerel lines—

“The monks how they fly, for they met a defeat,
The wolves how they howl, for they have nothing to eat;
The lambs by the dogs may be hunted and harried,
But, lo! to the rescue relief has not tarried.”

At the *auto-da-fé*, Julianillo Hernandez, the brave pioneer of Protestantism, said, “Now is the time to show ourselves valiant soldiers of Christ. Let us be true witnesses of Him and His truth, and we shall soon receive the sign of his approval, and triumph with Him in heaven.” But here the gag placed in his mouth prevented further preaching, except that conveyed by his eyes and gestures.

He kissed the instruments of torture, and placed a bundle on his head as a sign of his readiness to quit this world.

Francisco Gomez had been deputed by the Inquisition to bring Julianillo to reason, but as that would have been to make God’s truth foolish, the brave little man was found obdurate in his opinions. He declined either to renounce his faith or to confess himself wrong, in spite of menaces and tortures.

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He certainly was unable to refute the learned arguments of his opponents in scholarly fashion, and, bound hand and foot, he seemed to have exhausted his power of professing the truth.

Then Gomez, thinking the Protestant was vanquished, told him the hour had arrived for confession. At this, the old fire of the colporteur flamed forth, and he declared the priest was a blasphemer, and must be speaking contrary to his convictions, whereupon the soldiers, enraged at the martyr's persistent adherence to the truth he professed, pierced him with their halberds, and thus his sufferings were shortened by death.

Juan Gil, Juan Perez de Pineda, and Constantino de la Fuente could only be burnt in effigy, as Gil and Fuente had escaped the power of the Office by death, and Perez by his long residence abroad.

The king, Queen Isabel, and Don Carlos also took part in the *auto-da-fé* at Toledo, February 25, 1560. The others which followed on March 9, 1561, July 17, 1566, June 4, 1571, and December 18, 1580, proved the final death-blows to Spanish Protestantism in the sixteenth century.

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THE END

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